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THE
SIMPLE COBLER
OF
AGGAWAM IN AMERICA.

BY
REV. NATHANIEL WARD.

EDITED BY DAVID PULSIFER.



BOSTON:
JAMES MUNROE AND COMPANY.
1843.

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NOTICE OF THE AUTHOR.

THE REVEREND NATHANIEL WARD, the writer of the following work, was born at Haverhill, England, in 1570. Of this town his father was a clergyman. He was educated at Cambridge, studied and practised law, travelled on the Continent, afterwards commenced the study of divinity, became a preacher of the Gospel, and was settled at Standon, in Hertfordshire. He was a strong friend of the early settlers of New England before the elder Winthrop's coming over. At a General Court of the Massachusetts Company, held in London, on Wednesday the 25th of November, 1629, "Mr. Whyte did recommend Mr. Nathaniel Ward of Standon" to be admitted to the freedom of the Company. He was ordered before the Bishop, Dec. 12, 1631, to answer for his non-conformity. Being forbidden to preach, he embarked in April, 1634, for this country. He arrived here in June, and was settled as Pastor of the church at Ipswich, or Aggawam, the same year. By reason of indisposition,

he was, at his own request, in 1636, released from his engagement with the church there. However thus disengaged, he preached often during the time he remained in the colony. The necessities of the infant Commonwealth called for his time, talents, and acquirements. Nor did he refuse. Willing to do the good, which he might, he lent a ready and efficient hand to the formation of our Legal Code. He was appointed by the General Court, March 12, 1638, on a committee to draw up a system of laws, for the consideration of the freemen. The same legislative authority, May 13, 1640, granted him six hundred acres of land for his service, at Pentucket, afterwards called Haverhill. He preached the election sermon, 1641, in which he advanced several things that savored more of liberty, than some of the magistrates were prepared to approve. The same year, Oct. 7, "The Govern^r and m^r Hauthorne were Desired to speake to m^r Ward, for a coppey of the liberties, and of the Capitall lawes to bee transcribed, and sent to the severall townes." He wrote the "Simple Cobler" in 1645. In this year, May 25, he was on a committee to draw up a Body of Liberties, which were published in 1648, being the first printed volume of the kind in this Colony. Though greatly assisted by Joseph Hills and others in the composition and arrangement of so important a work, yet he appears to have been a principal agent in its accomplishment. He sold his interest at Haverhill, Nov. 25, 1646, to John Eaton, for £12,00. Between this date and the 6th of January following, he returned to England. On June 30th, 1647, he preached before the House of Commons, and the same year published the "Simple Cobler." He was after-

wards settled in the ministry at Shenfield, near Brentwood, where he died in 1653, in his eighty-third year.

Fuller, in his “Worthies of England,” speaking of him, says, that he, “following the counsel of the poet,

Ridentem dicere verum,
Quis vetat ?

What doth forbid but one may smile,
And also tell the truth the while ?

hath in a jesting way, in some of his books, delivered much smart truth of the present times.” Dr. Mather, in his “Magnalia,” remarks of him, “he was the author of many composures full of wit and sense; among which, that entitled *The Simple Cobler (which demonstrated him to be a subtil statesman)* was most considered.” The same author adds, that “some famous persons of old thought it a greater glory to have it enquired; *why such a one had not a statue erected for him?* than to have it enquired *why he had?* If it be enquired, *why this our St. Hilary hath among our Lives no statue erected for him?* let that enquiry go for part of one.” And in the “Remarkables” of Increase Mather, he observes, “An hundred witty Speeches of our Celebrated Ward, who called himself *The Simple Cobler* of Agawam, [and over whose Mantel-piece in his House, by the way, I have seen those three Words Engraved, SOBRIE, JUSTE, PIE, and a Fourth added, which was LÆTE:] have been reported; but he had one Godly Speech, that was worth ’em all; which was, *I have only Two Comforts to*

Live upon ; The one is in the Perfections of CHRIST ; The other is in The Imperfections of all CHRISTIANS."

Mr. Ward had several children. Among them, were John, settled in the ministry at Haverhill, Mass., where he died, 1693 ; James, who practised medicine, and a daughter, married to Gyles Fyrmin. These three last accompanied their father to England.

To illustrate how much Mr. Ward benevolently labored for the public good with but small recompense, we quote another remark of Cotton Mather, as to his son John. It follows : " He was a son most exemplarily *dutiful* unto his *parents* ; and having paid some considerable *debts* for his *father*, he would afterwards humbly observe and confess, that God had abundantly *recompenced* this his dutifulness." Whether these debts were paid in Old or New England is uncertain.

Thus we have given a sketch of one, who deserves well of New England and of friends to freedom every where, — so that it might be more evident how he and the subsequent work were estimated by his cotemporaries and successors.

D. P.

Boston, March 8, 1843.

NOTE.

THIS work passed through several editions at London in 1647. It was reprinted in Boston in 1713. One of the earlier editions and that of 1713 have been used in preparing the present edition for the press. After his first impression, the author made several additions to succeeding ones, which will be found in this now issued. — The principal of these additions are as follow: “A Word of Love to the Common People of England,” “A most humble Heel piece,” &c., and “A respective word to the Ministers of England.”

ED.

THE
SIMPLE COBLER

OF
AGGAVVAM in AMERICA.

WILLING

To help 'mend his Native Country, lamentably
tattered, both in the upper-Leather and sole,
with all the honest stitches he can take.

And as willing never to be paid for his work,
by Old English wonted pay.

It is his trade to patch all the year long, gratis.
Therefore I pray Gentlemen keep your purses.

By *Theodore de la Guard.*

*In rebus arduis ac tenui spe, fortissima
quæque consilia tutissima sunt. Cic.*

In English,

When bootes and shoes are torne up to the lefts,
Coblers must thrust their awles up to the hefts.

This is no time to feare *Apelles gramm:*
Ne Sutor quidem ultra crepidam.

LONDON,
Printed by *J. D. & R. I. for Stephen Bowtell*, at the
signe of the Bible in Popes Head-Alley, 1647.

TO THE
READER.

Gentlemen

I Pray make a little roome for a Cobler, his work was done in time, but a ship setting sayle one day too soon makes it appear some weeks too late ; Seeing he is so reasonable as to demand no other pay for his labour and leather, but leave to pay us well for our faults, let it be accepted, as Counsel in our occasions to come, and as a Testimony of what is past,

By a Friend.



THE
SIMPLE COBLER
OF
AGGAVVAM in AMERICA.

EITHER I am in an Appoplexie, or that man is in a Lethargie, who doth not now sensibly feele God shaking the Heavens over his head, and the Earth under his feet : The Heavens so, as the Sun begins to turne into darknesse, the Moon into blood, the Starres to fall down to the ground ; So that little Light of Comfort or Counsell is left to the sonnes of men : The Earth so, as the foundations are failing, the righteous scarce know where to finde rest, the Inhabitants stagger like drunken men ; it is in a manner dissolved both in Religions and Relations : And no marvell ; for, they have defiled it by transgressing the Laws, changing the Ordinances, and breaking the Everlasting Covenant. The Truths of God are the Pillars of the world, whereon States and Churches may stand quiet if they will ; if they will not, He can easily shake them off into delusions, and distractions enough.

Sathan is now in his passions, hee feeles his passion approaching ; hee loves to fish in royled waters. Though that Dragon cannot sting the vitals of the

Elect mortally, yet that Beelzebub can fly-blow their Intellectuals miserably : The finer Religion grows, the finer hee spins his Cobwebs, hee will hold pace with Christ so long as his wits will serve him. Hee sees himselfe beaten out of grosse Idolatries, Heresies, Ceremonies, where the Light breakes forth with power ; he will therefore bestirre him to prevaricate Evangelicall Truths, and Ordinances, that if they will needs be walking, yet they shall *laborare varicibus*, and not keep their path : he will put them out of time and place ; Assascinating for his Engineers, men of Paracelsian parts ; well complexioned for honesty ; for, such are fittest to Mountebanke his Chimistry into sicke Churches and weake Judgements.

Nor shall hee neede to stretch his strength overmuch in this worke : Too many men having not laid their foundation sure, nor ballasted their Spirits deepe with humility and feare, are prest enough of themselves to evaporate their owne apprehensions. Those that are acquainted with Story know, it hath ever been so in new Editions of Churches : Such as are least able, are most busie to pudder in the rubbish, and to raise dust in the eyes of more steady Repayrers. Civill Commotions make roome for uncivill practises : Religious mutations, for irreligious opinions : Change of Aire, discovers corrupt bodies ; Reformation of Religion, unsound mindes. He that hath any well-faced phancy in his Crowne, and doth not vent it now, fears the pride of his owne heart wil dub him dunce for ever. Such a one will trouble the whole *Israel* of God with his most untimely births, though he makes

the bones of his vanity sticke up, to the view and grieve of all that are godly wise. The devill desires no better sport then to see light heads handle their heels, and fetch their carreers in a time, when the Roofe of Liberty stands open.

The next perplexed Question, with pious and ponderous men, will be : What should bee done for the healing of these comfortlesse exulcerations. J am the unablest adviser of a thousand, the unworthiest of ten thousand ; yet J hope J may presume to assert what follows without just offence.

First, such as have given or taken any unfriendly reports of us *New-English*, should do well to recollect themselves. We have beene reputed a Colluvies of wild Opinionists, swarmed into a remote wilderness to find elbow-roome for our phanatick Doctrines and practises : J trust our diligence past, and constant sedulity against such persons and courses, will plead better things for us. J dare take upon me, to bee the Herauld of *New-England* so farre, as to proclaime to the world, in the name of our Colony, that all Familists, Antinomians, Anabaptists, and other Enthusiasts, shall have free Liberty to keep away from us, and such as will come to be gone as fast as they can, the sooner the better.

Secondly, J dare averre, that God doth no where in his word tolerate Christian States, to give Toleration to such adversaries of his Truth, if they have power in their hands to suppress them.

Here is lately brought us an extract of a *Magna Charta*, so called, compiled between the Sub-planters

of a *West-Indian* Island ; whereof the first Article of constipulation, firmly provides free stable-room and litter for all kinde of consciences, be they never so dirty or jadish ; making it actionable, yea, treasonable, to disturbe any man in his Religion, or to discommend it, whatever it be. Wee are very sorry to see such professed profanenesse in *English* Professors, as industriously to lay their Religious Foundations on the ruine of true Religion ; which strictly binds every conscience to contend earnestly for the Truth : to preserve unity of spirit, faith and Ordinances, to be all like-minded, of one accord ; every man to take his brother into his Christian care : to stand fast with one spirit, with one mind, striving together for the faith of the Gospel : and by no meanes to permit Heresies or erroneous opinions : But God abhorring such loathsome beverages, hath in his righteous judgement blasted that enterprize, which might otherwise have prospered well, for ought I know ; I presume their case is generally knowne ere this.

If the devill might have his free option, I believe he would ask nothing else, but liberty to enfranchise all false Religions, and to embondage the true ; nor should he need : It is much to bee feared, that laxe Tolerations upon State pretences and planting necessities, will be the next subtle Stratagem he will spread, to distate the Truth of God and supplant the peace of the Churches. Tolerations in things tolerable, exquisitely drawn out by the lines of the Scripture, and pensill of the Spirit, are the sacred favours of Truth, the due latitudes of Love, the faire Compartiments of

Christian fraternity : but irregular dispensations, dealt forth by the facilities of men, are the frontiers of error, the redoubts of Schisme, the perillous irritaments of carnall and spirituall enmity.

My heart hath naturally detested foure things : The standing of the Apocrypha in the Bible ; Forrainers dwelling in my Countrey, to crowd our native Subjects into the corners of the Earth ; Alchymized coines ; Toleration of divers Religions, or of one Religion in segregant shapes : He that willingly assents to the last, if he examines his heart by day-light, his conscience will tell him, he is either an Atheist, or an Heretique, or an Hypocrite, or at best a captive to some lust : Poly-piety is the greatest impiety in the world. True Religion is *Ignis probationis*, which doth *congregare homogenea* & *segregare heterogenea*.

Not to tolerate things meerly indifferent to weak consciences, argues a conscience too strong : pressed uniformity in these, causes much disunity : To tolerate more than indifferents, is not to deale indifferently with God ; He that doth it, takes his Scepter out of his hand, and bids him stand by. Who hath to doe to institute Religion but God. The power of all Religion and Ordinances, lies in their purity : their purity in their simplicity : then are mixtures pernicious. J lived in a City, where a Papist preached in one Church, a Lutheran in another, a Calvinist in a third ; a Lutheran one part of the day, a Calvinist the other, in the same Pulpit : the Religion of that place was but motly and meagre, their affections Leopardlike.

If the whole Creature should conspire to doe the

Creator a mischief, or offer him an insolency, it would be in nothing more, than in erecting untruths against his Truth, or by sophisticating his Truths with humane medleyes; the removing of some one iota in Scripture, may draw out all the life, and traverse all the Truth of the whole Bible: but to authorise an untruth, by a Toleration of State, is to build a Scouce against the walls of heaven, to batter God out of his Chaire: To tell a practicall lye, is a great sin, but yet transient; but to set up a Theoricall untruth, is to warrant every lye that lies from its root to the top of every branch it hath, which are not a few.

I would willingly hope that no Member of the Parliament hath skilfully ingratiated himselfe into the hearts of the House, that he might watch a time to midwife out some ungracious Toleration for his own turne, and for the sake of that, some others. I would also hope that a word of generall caution should not be particularly misapplied. I am the freer to suggest it, because I know not one man of that mind, my aime is generall, and I desire may be so accepted. Yet good Gentlemen, looke well about you, and remember how *Tiberius* plaid the Fox with the Senate of *Rome*, and how *Fabius Maximus* cropt his ears for his cunning.

That State is wise, that will improve all paines and patience rather to compose, then tolerate differences in Religion. There is no divine Truth, but hath much Celestial fire in it from the Spirit of Truth: nor no irreligious untruth, without its proportion of Antifire from the Spirit of Error to contradict it: the zeale of

the one, the virulency of the other, must necessarily kindle Combustions. Fiery diseases seated in the spirit, embroile the whole frame of the body : others more externall and coole, are lesse dangerous. They which divide in Religion divide in God ; they who divide in him, divide beyond *Genus Generalissimum*, where there is no reconciliation, without atonement ; that is, without uniting in him, who is One, and in his Truth, which is also one.

Wise are those men who will be perswaded rather to live within the pale of Truth where they may bee quiet, than in the purliev's, where they are sure to be hunted ever and anon, doe Authority what it can. Every singular Opinion, hath a singular opinion of it self ; and he that holds it a singular opinion of himself, and a simple opinion of all contra-sentients : he that confutes them, must confute all three at once, or else he does nothing ; which will not be done without more stir than the peace of the State or Church can indure.

And prudent are those Christians, that will rather give what may be given, then hazzard all by yeelding nothing. To sell all peace of Country, to buy some peace of Conscience unseasonably, is more avarice than thrift, imprudence than patience : they deale not equally, that set any truth of God at such a rate ; but they deale wisely that will stay till the Market is fallen.

My prognosticks deceive me not a little, if once within three seven years, peace prove not such a penny-worth at most Marts in Christendome, that hee that would not lay down his money, his lust, his opin-

ion, his will, I had almost said the best flower of his Crown for it, while he might have had it; will tell his own heart, he plaid the very ill husband.

Concerning Tolerations I may further assert.

That Persecution of True Religion, and Toleration of false, are the *Jannes* and *Jambres* to the Kingdome of Christ, whereof the last is farre the worst. *Augustines* tongue had not owed his mouth one penny-rent though it had never spake one word more in it, but this, *Nullum malum pejus libertate errandi*.

Frederick Duke of *Saxon*, spake not one foote beyond the mark when he said. He had rather the Earth should swallow him up quick, then he should give a toleration to any opinion against any truth of God.

He that is willing to tolerate any Religion, or discrepant way of Religion, besides his own, unlesse it be in matters meerly indifferent, either doubts of his own, or is not sincere in it.

He that is willing to tolerate any unsound Opinion, that his own may also be tolerated, though never so sound, will for a need hang Gods Bible at the Devils girdle.

Every Toleration of false Religions, or Opinions hath as many Errours and sins in it, as all the false Religions and Opinions it tolerates, and one sound one more.

{ That State that will give Liberty of Conscience in matters of Religion, must give Liberty of Conscience and Conversation in their Morall Laws, or else the Fiddle will be out of tune, and some of the strings cracke.

He that will rather make an irreligious quarrell with other Religions, then try the truth of his own by valuable Arguments, and peaceable Sufferings; either his Religion, or himselfe is irreligious.

Experience will teach Churches and Christians, that it is farre better to live in a State united, though a little Corrupt, then in a State, whereof some Part is incorrupt, and all the rest divided.

I am not altogether ignorant of the eight Rules given by Orthodox Divines about giving Tolerations, yet with their favour I dare affirme,

That there is no Rule given by God for any State to give an Affirmative Toleration to any false Religion, or Opinion whatsoever; they must connive in some cases, but may not concede in any.

That the State of *England* (so farre as my Intelligence serves) might in time have prevented with ease, and may yet without any great difficulty deny both Toleration, and irregular Connivences, *salva Republica*.

That if the State of *England* shall either willingly Tolerate, or weakly connive at such Courses, the Church of that Kingdom will sooner become the Devils Dancing-Schoole, then Gods-Temple; The Civill State a Beare-garden, then an Exchange: The whole Realme a Pais base, then an *England*. And what pity it is, that that Country which hath been the Staple of Truth to all Christendome, should now become the Aviary of Errors to the whole World, let every fearing heart judge.

I take Liberty of Conscience to bee nothing but a

freedome from sinne, and error. *Conscientia in tantum libera, in quantum ab errore liberata.* And liberty of Error nothing but a Prison for Conscience. Then small will bee the kindnesse of a State to build such Prisons for their Subjects.

The Scripture saith, there is nothing makes free but Truth, and Truth saith, there is no Truth but One: If the States of the World would make it their sum-
perous Care to preserve this One Truth in its purity and Authority it would ease them of all other Politicall cares. I am sure Satan makes it his grand, if not onely taske, to adulterate Truth; Falshood is his sole Scepter, whereby he first ruffled, and ever since ruined the World.

If Truth be but One, me thinks all the Opinionists in *England* should not be all in that One Truth, some of them I doubt are out. He that can extract an unity out of such a disparity, or contract such a disparity into an unity; had need be a better Artist, then ever was *Drebell*.

If two Centers (as we may suppose) be in one Circle, and lines drawn from both to all the points of the Compasse, they will certainly crosse one another, and probably cut through the Centers themselves.

There is talke of an universall Toleration, I would talke as loud as I could against it, did J know what more apt and reasonable Sacrifice *England* could offer to God for his late performing all his heavenly Truths, then an universall Toleration of all hellish Errors, or how they shall make an universall Reformation, but by making Christs Academy the Devils Uni-

versity, where any man may commence Heretique *per saltum*; where he that is *filius Diabolicus*, or *simpliciter pessimus*, may have his grace to goe to hell *cum Publico Privilegio*; and carry as many after him, as he can.

Religio docenda est, non coercenda is a pretty piece of *album Latinum* for some kinde of throats that are willingly sore, but *Hæresis dedocenda est non permit-tenda*, will be found a farre better *Diamoron* for the Gargarismes this Age wants, if timely and throughly applyed.

If there be roome in *England* for

	<i>Familists</i>	} then room for }	<i>Manes</i>
	<i>Libertines</i>		<i>Lemures</i>
	<i>Erastians</i>		<i>Dryades</i>
	<i>Antitrinitarians</i>		<i>Homadryades</i>
	<i>Anabaptists</i>		<i>Potamides</i>
	<i>Antiscripturists</i>		<i>Naiades</i>
	<i>Arminians</i>		<i>Hinnides</i>
	<i>Manifestarians</i>		<i>Pierides</i>
	<i>Millinaries</i>		<i>Nercides</i>
	<i>Antinomians</i>		<i>Pales</i>
	<i>Socinians</i>		<i>Anonides</i>
	<i>Arrians</i>		<i>Parcades</i>
	<i>Perfectists</i>		<i>Castalides</i>
	<i>Brownists*</i>		<i>Monides</i>
Religious	<i>Mortalians</i>	} Good Spir- its, but very Devils.	<i>Charites</i>
Men but	<i>Seekers</i>		<i>Heliconides</i>
pernicious	<i>Enthusiasts</i>		<i>Pegasides</i>
Heretiques	&c.		&c.

In a word room for Hell above ground.

* By Brownists I mean not Independents, but dew-clawd Sepe-
ratists: farre be it from me to wr. ng godly Independents. I truly
acknowledge that I judge my self neither able nor worthy to honour
some of them as they deserve.

It is said, Though a man have light enough himselfe to see the Truth, yet if he hath not enough to enlighten others, he is bound to tolerate them, I will engage my self, that all the Devills in *Britanie* shall sell themselves to their shirts, to purchase a Lease of this Position for three of their Lives, under the Seale of the Parliament.

It is said, That Men ought to have Liberty of their Conscience, and that it is Persecution to debarre them of it: I can rather stand amazed then reply to this: it is an astonishment to think that the braines of men should be parboyl'd in such impious ignorance; Let all the wits under the Heavens lay their heads together and finde an Assertion worse than this (one excepted) I will Petition to be chosen the universal Idiot of the world.

It is said, That Civill Magistrates ought not to meddle with Ecclesiasticall matters.

I would answer to this so well as I could, did I not know that some Papers lately brought out of *New-England*, are going to the Presse, wherein the Opinions of the Elders there in a late Synod, concerning this point are manifested, which I suppose will give clearer satisfaction then I can.

The true English of all this their false Latine, is nothing but a generall Toleration of all Opinions; which motion if it be like to take, it were very requisite, that the City would repaire *Pauls* with all the speed they can, for an English *Pantheon*, and bestow it upon the Sectaries, freely to assemble in, then there may be some hope that *London* will be quiet in time.

But why dwell J so intolerable long about Toleration, J hope my feares are but panick, against which I have a double cordiall. First, that the Parliament will not though they could: Secondly, that they cannot though they would grant such 'Tolerations. God who hath so honoured them with eminent wisdome in all other things, will not suffer them to cast both his, and their Honour in the dust of perpetuall Infamy, doe what they can; nor shall those who have spent so great a part of their substance in redeeming their Civill Liberties from Usurpation, lose all that remaines in enthralling their spirituall Liberty by Toleration.

It is said Opinionists are many, and strong, that *de sunt Vires*, that it is *turbata respublica*, I am very sorry for it, but more sorry, if despondency of minde shall cause the least tergiversation in Gods Worthies, who have receiv'd such pledges of his presence in their late Counsels, and Conflicts. It is not thousands of Opinionists that can pinion his Everlasting armes, I can hardly beleieve there is a greater unbeleever then my Selfe, yet I can verily beleieve that the God of Truth will in a short time scatter them all like smoake before the wind. I confesse I am troubled to see Men so over-troubled about them; I am rather glad to heare the Devill is breaking up house in *England*, and removing somewhither else, give him leave to sell all his rags, and odde-ends by the out-cry; and let his petty Chapmen make their Market while they may, upon my poore credit it will not last long. Hee that hath done so much for *England* will go on to perfect his owne praise, and his Peoples Peace: let good

men stand still, and behold his further Salvation. He that sitteth in the Heavens laughs at them, the most High hath them in Derision, and their folly shall certainly be manifested to all men.

Yet I dare not but adde, and in the Name of God will adde, that if any Publique members of Church or State, have been either open fautors, or private abettors of any blasphemous, contagious Opinions; It will be their wisdom to proportion their repentance to their Sin, before God makes them Publique monuments of Ignominie, and Apostasie.

Thirdly, That all Christian States, ought to disavow and decry all such Errours, by some peremptory Statutory Act, and that in time, that Subjects knowing fully the minde of the State, might not delude themselves with vaine hopes of unsufferable Liberties. It is lesse to say *Statuatur veritas, ruat Regnum*, than *Fiat justitia, ruat Cælum*; but there is no such danger in either of them. Feare nothing Gentlemen, *Rubiconem transiistis, jacta est alea*, ye have turned the Devill out of doores; fling all his old parrell after him out at the windows, lest he makes an errand for it againe. *Quæ relinquuntur in morbis post indicationem, recidivas facere consuevere*. Christ would have his Church without spot or wrinkle; They that help make it so, shall lose neither honour nor labour: If yee be wise, suffer no more thorns in his sides or your owne. When God kindles such fires as these, hee doth not usually quench them, till the very scum on the pot sides be boyled cleane away, *Ezek. 24. 10, 11*. Yee were better to doe it your selves, then leave

it to him : the Arme of the Lord is mighty, his hand very heavy ; who can dwell with his devouring fire, and long lasting burnings ?

Fourthly, to make speedy provision against Obstinates and disseminaries : where under favour, two things will be found requisite. First, variety of penalties, I meane certaine, not indefinite : I am a Crabbat against Arbitrary Government. Experience hath taught us here, that politicall, domesticall, and personall respects, will not admit one and the same remedy for all, without sad inconveniences. Secondly, just severity : persecution hath ever spread Truth, prosecution scattered Errour : Ten of the most Christian Emperors, found that way best ; Schollars know whom J meane : Five of the ancient Fathers perswaded to it, of whom *Augustine* was one, who for a time argued hard for indulgency : but upon conference with other prudent Bishops, altered his judgement, as appears in three of his Epistles, to *Marcellinus*, *Donatus*, and *Boniface*. J would be understood, not onely an Allowder, but an humble Petitioner, that ignorant and tender conscienced Anabaptists may have due time and means of conviction.

Fifthly, That every Prophet, to whom God hath given the tongue of the learned, should teach, and every Angel who hath a pen and inkehorne by his side write against these grieving extravagancies : writing of many books, I grant is irkesome, reading endlesse. A reasonable man would thinke Divines had declaimed sufficiently upon these Themes. I have ever thought the Rule given, *Titus* 3. 10. which cuts

the work short and sharpe to be more properly prevalent, then wearisome waiting upon unwearable Spirits. It is a most toylsome taske to run the wild-goose chase after a well-breath'd Opinionist : they delight in vitiligation : it is an itch that loves a life to be scrub'd : they desire not satisfaction, but satisdiction, whereof themselves must be judges : yet in new eruptions of Error with new objections, silence is sinfull.

As for my selfe, I am none of the disputers of this world : all I can doe, is to guesse when men speake true or false divinity : if I can but finde the parentall roote, or formall reason of a Truth, I am quiet ; if J cannot, I shore up my slender judgement as long as I can, with two or three the handsomest props I can get : J shall therefore leave Arguments to acuter heads, and onely speak a word of Love, with all Christian respect to our deare Brethren in *England*, which are against baptizing of Infants : I intreate them to consider these few things seriously and meekly. First, what a high pitch of boldnesse it is for man to cut a principall Ordinance out of the Kingdome of God ; if it be but to make a dislocation, which so far disgoods the Ordinance, J feare it altogether unhallows it, to transplace or transtime a stated Institution of Christ, without his direction, J thinke, is to destroy it. Secondly, what a Cruelty it is to devest children of that onely externall priviledge which their heavenly Father hath bequeathed them, to interest them visibly in Himselfe, His Son, His Spirit, His Covenant of Grace, and the tender bosome of their carefull Mother the Church. Thirdly, what an Inhumanity it is, to

deprive Parents of that comfort they may take from the baptisme of their Infants dying in their Childehood. Fourthly, How unseasonable and unkindely it is, to interturb the State and Church with these Amalekitish onsets, when they are in their extreame pangs of travell with their lives. Fifthly, to take a through view of those who have preambled this by path. Being sometimes in the Crowds of foraigne Wederdoers, that is, Anabaptists ; and prying into their inward frames with the best eyes I had ; I could not but observe these disguised guises in the generality of them.

First, a flat formality of Spirit without salt or savour in the spiritualities of Christ, as if their Religion began and ended in their Opinion. Secondly, a shallow slighting of such as dissent from them, appearing too often in their faces, speeches and carriages. Thirdly, a feeble, yet peremptory obstinacy ; seldome are any of them reclaimed. Fourthly, a shamefull sliding into other such tarpauling tenets, to keep themselves dry from the showers of Justice, as a rationall minde would never entertain, if it were not Errour-blasted from Heaven and Hell : I should as shrewdly suspect that Opinion, that will cordially corrive with two or three sottish errors, as that faith that can professedly live with two or three sordid sins. J dare not feare our godly Brethren in *England* to be yet comming to this passe ; how soon they may, themselves know not, the times are slippery : They will undoubtedly finde God as jealous of his Ordinances, as themselves are zealous of their Opinions.

Sixthly, That Authority ought to see their Sub-

jects children baptized, though their Parents judgments be against it, if there be no other Evangelicall barre in the way.

Seventhly, That prudent men, especially young, should doe well not to ingage themselves in conference with Errorists, without a good calling and great caution; their breath is contagious, their leprey spreading: receive not him that is weak, saith the Apostle, to doubtfull disputations; much lesse may they run themselves into dangerous Sophistications. He usually hears best in their meetings, that stops his eares closest; he opens his mouth to best purpose, that keeps it shut, and he doeth best of all, that declines their company as wisely as he may.

Brethren, have an extraordinary care also of the late Theosophers, that teach men to climbe to Heaven upon a ladder of lying figments. Rather than the Devill will lose his game, he will out-shoot Christ in his owne bow; he will out-law the Law, quite out of the word and world: over-Gospell the Gospell, and quidanye Christ, with Sugar and Rats-bane. Hee was Professour not long since at *Schelstat* in *Alsatia*, where he learned that no poyson is so deadly as the poyson of Grace.

The wisest way, when all is said, is with all humility and feare, to take Christ as himselfe hath revealed himselfe in his Gospel, and not as the Devill presents him to prestigiated phansies. I have ever hated the way of the Rosie-Crucians, who reject things as Gods wisdom hath tempered them, and will have nothing but their Spirits. If I were to give physick to Sprys,

I would doe so too: but when I want physick for my body, I would not have my soule tartared: nor my Animall Spirits purged any way, but by my Naturall, and those by my bodily humours, and those by such Ordinaries, as have the nearest vicinage to them, and not by Metaphysicall Limbeckings. I cannot thinke that *materia prima* or *secunda*, should be good for me, that am at least, *Materia millessima sexcentesima quadragesima quinta*.

Here I hold my selfe bound to set up a Beacon, to give warning of a new-sprung Sect of Phrantasticks, which would perswade themselves and others, that they have discovered the Nor-west passage to Heaven. These wits of the game, cry up and downe in corners such bold ignotions of a new Gospell, new Christ, new Faith, and new gay-nothings, as trouble unsettled heads, querulous hearts, and not a little grieve the Spirit of God. I desire all good men may be saved from their Lunatick Creed, by Infidelity; and rather beleieve these torrid overtures will prove in time, nothing but horrid raptures downe to the lowest hell, from which he that would be delivered, let him avoid these blasphemers, a late fry of croaking Frogs, not to be indured in a Religious State, no, if it were possible, not an houre.

As some are playing young Spaniels, questing at every bird that rises; so others, held very good men, are at a dead stand, not knowing what to doe or say; and are therefore called Seekers, looking for new Nuntio's from Christ, to assoile these benighted questions, and to give new Orders for new Churches. I

crave leave with all respect to tell them, that if they looke into *Act. 20. 20. 25. Gal. 1. 8. 9. 1. Tim. 6. 13. 16.* and find them not there; they may happily seeke as the young Prophets did for *Eliah's* corps, where it never was, nor ever will be found.

I cannot imagine why the Holy Ghost should give *Timothy* the solemnest charge, was ever given mortall man, to observe the Rules he had given, till the comming of Christ, if new things must be expected.

Woe be to them, who ever they be, that so trouble the wayes of God that they who have found the way to Heaven, cannot find the way to Church: And woe be to them, that so gaze at the glorious light, they say, will breake forth in the thousand yeares to come, that they make little of the gracious Truth that hath been revealed these sixteen hundred years past. And woe be to them that so under-value the first Master-Builders, I mean the Apostles of Christ, that unlesse he sends wiser than they, He must be accounted lesse faithfull in his house than *Moses* was.

I have cause enough to be as charitable to others as any man living; yet I cannot but feare, that those men never Moored their Anchors well in the firme soile of Heaven, that are weather-waft up and down with every eddy-wind of every new doctrine. The good Spirit of God doth not usually tie up the Helme, and suffer passengers to Heaven to ride a drift, hither and thither, as every wave and current carries them: that is a fitter course for such as the Apostle calls wandring Starres and Meteors, without any certaine motion, hurried about with tempests, bred of the Ex-

halations of their own pride and self-wittednesse : whose damnation sleepeth not, and to whom the mist of darknesse is reserved for ever, that they may suffer irreparable shipwrack upon the Sands and Rocks of their owne Errours, being of old ordained to condemnation.

Eightly, let all considerate men beware of ungrounded opinions in Religion : Since I knew what to feare, my timorous heart hath dreaded three things : a blazing starre appearing in the aire : a State Comet, I mean a favourite rising in a Kingdome, a new Opinion spreading in Religion : these are Exorbitancies : which is a formidable word : a *vacuum* and an exorbitancy, are mundicidious evils. Concerning Novelties of opinions ; I shall expresse my thoughts in these brieve passages. First, that Truth is the best boone God ever gave the world : there is nothing in the world, world, any further then Truth makes it so ; it is better then any creat' *Ens* or *Bonum*, which are but Truths twins. Secondly, the least Truth of Gods Kingdome, doth in its place, uphold the whole kingdome of his Truths ; Take away the least *vericulum* out of the world, and it unworlds all, potentially, and may unravell the whole texture actually, if it be not conserved by an Arme of superiordinary power. Thirdly, the least Evangelicall Truth is more worth than all the Civil Truths in the world, that are meerly so. Fourthly, that Truth is the Parent of all Liberty whether politicall or personall ; so much untruth, so much thraldome, *John* 8. 32.

Hence it is, that God is so jealous of his Truths, that

he hath taken order in his due justice : First, that no practicall sin is so sinfull as some error in judgement ; no men so accursed with indelible infamie and dedolent impenitency, as Authours of Heresie. Secondly, that the least Error, if grown sturdy and pressed, shall set open the Spittle-doore of all the squint ey'd, wry-necked, and brazen-faced Errors that are or ever were of that litter ; if they be not enough to serve its turne, it will beget more, though it hath not one crust of reason to maintain them. Thirdly, that that State which will permit Errors in Religion, shall admit Errors in policy unavoyably. Fourthly, that that Policy which will suffer irreligious Errors, shall suffer the losse of so much Liberty in one kind or other, I will not exempt *Venice, Rhaguse, the Cantons, the Nether-lands*, or any.

An easie head may soon demonstrate, that the prementioned Planters, by Tolerating all Religions, had immazed themselves in the most intolerable confusions and inextricable thraldomes the world ever heard of. I am perswaded the Devill himselfe was never willing with their proceedings, for feare it would breake his wind and wits to attend such a Province. I speak it seriously according to my meaning. How all Religions should enjoy their Liberty, Justice its due regularity, Civill cohabitation morall honesty, in one and the same Jurisdiction, is beyond the Artique of my comprehension. If the whole conclave of Hell can so compromise, exadverse, and diametricall contradictions, as to compolitize such a multimonstrous maufrey of heteroclytes and quicquidlibets quietly ;

I trust I may say with all humble reverence, they can doe more then the Senate of Heaven. My *modus loquendi* pardoned: I intirely wish much welfare and more wisdom to that Plantation.

It is greatly to be lamented, to observe the wanton fearlessnesse of this Age, especially of younger professors, to greet new opinions and Opinionists: as if former truths were grown superannuate, and sablesse, if not altogether antiquate. *Non senescet veritas*. No man ever saw a gray haire on the head or beard of any Truth, wrinkle, or morpew on its face: The bed of Truth is green all the yeare long. Hee that cannot solace himselfe with any saving truth, as affectionately as at the first acquaintance with it, hath not only a fastidious, but an adulterous heart.

If all be true we heare, Never was any People under the Sun, so sick of new Opinions as *English-men* nor of new fashions as *English-women*: If God helpe not the one, and the devill leave not helping the other, a blind man may easily foresee what will become of both. I have spoken what I intend for the present to men; I shall speak a word to the women anon: in the mean time I intreat them to prepare patience.

Ninthly, that godly humble Christians ought not to wonder impatiently at the wonderfull workes of God in these times: it is full Season for him to work Sovereign worke, to vindicate his Sovereignty, that men may feare before him. States are unstated, Rulers growne Over-rulers, Subjects worse then men, Churches decayed. Tofts, Professors, empty casks filled with unholy humours; I speake not of all, but

too many ; I condemne not the generation of the just : God hath his remnant, whom he will carefully preserve. If it bee time for men to take up Defensive Armes against such as are called Gods, upon the point of *Salus populi*, it is high time for him that is God indeed, to draw his Sword against wormes and no men, upon the point of *Majestas imperii* : The piercing of his Sword shall discover the thoughts of many hearts.

Lastly, I dare averre, that it ill becomes Christians any thing well-shod with the preparation of the Gospel, to meditate flight from their deare Countrey upon these disturbances. Stand your ground ye *Eleazars* and *Shammahs*, stir not a foot so long as you have halfe a foot of ground to stand upon : after one or two such Worthies, a great Victory may be regained, and flying *Israel* may returne to a rich spoile. Englishmen, be advised to love England; with your hearts and to preserve it by your Prayers. I am bold to say that since the pure Primitive time, the Gospel never thrived so well in any soile on earth, as in the *British* ; nor is the like goodnesse of nature, or Cornucopian plenty else-where to be found : if ye lose that Country, and finde a better before ye come to Heaven, my Cosmography failes me. I am farre from discouraging any, whom necessity of Conscience or condition thrusts out by head and shoulders : if God calls any into a Wildernesse, Hee will be no wildernesse to them, *Jer. 2. 31.* witnesse his large beneficence to us here beyond expectation.

Ye say, why come not we over to help the Lord against the Mighty, in these Sacred battailes?

I answer, many here are diligently observing the counsell of the same Prophet, 22. 10. *Weepe not for him that is dead, neither bemoan him ; but weep for him that is gone away and shall returne no more to see his Native Country.* Divers make it an Article of our *American* Creed, which a celebrate Divine of *England* hath observed upon *Heb.* 11. 9. That no man ought to forsake his owne countrey, but upon extraordinary cause, and when that cause ceaseth, he is bound in conscience to returne if he can : We are looking to him who hath our hopes and seasons in his onely wise hand.

In the mean time we desire to bow our knees before the Throne of Grace day and night, that the Lord would be pleased in his tender mercy to still the sad unquietnesse and per-peracute contentions, of that most comfortable and renowned island, that at length He may have praise in his Churches, and his Churches peace in him, through Jesus Christ.

SHould I not keepe promise in speaking a little to Womens fashions, they would take it unkindly : I was loath to pester better matter with such stuffe ; I rather thought it meet to let them stand by themselves, like the *Quæ Genus* in the Grammar, being Deficients, or Redundants, not to be brought under any Rule : I shall therefore make bold for this once, to borrow a little of their loose tongued Liberty, and mispend a word or two upon their long-wast-

ed, but short-skirted patience: a little use of my stirrup will doe no harme.

Ridentem dicere verum, quid prohibet ?

*Gray Gravity it selfe can well betcam,
That Language be adapted to the Theme.
He that to Parrots speaks, must parrotize :
He that instructs a foole, may act th' unwise.*

It is known more then enough, that I am neither Nigard, nor Cinick, to the due bravery of the true Gentry: if any man mislikes a bully mong drossock more then I, let him take her for his labour: I honour the woman that can honour her selfe with her attire: a good Text alwayes deserves a fair Margent: I am not much offended if I see a trimme, far trimmer than she that wears it: in a word, whatever Christianity or Civility will allow, I can afford with *London* measure: but when I heare a nugiperous Gentledame inquire what dresse the Queen is in this week: what the nudiustertian fashion of the Court; I meane the very newest: with egge to be in it in all haste, what ever it be; I look at her as the very gizzard of a trifle, the product of a quarter of a cypher, the epitome of nothing, fitter to be kickt, if shee were of a kickable substance, than either honour'd or humour'd.

To speak moderately, I truly confesse, it is beyond the ken of my understanding to conceive, how those women should have any true grace, or valuable ~~ble~~ vertue, that have so little wit, as to disfigure themselves with such exotick garbes, as not only dismantles their native lovely lustre, but transclouts

them into gant bar-geese, ill-shapen-shotten-shell-fish, Egyptian Hyeroglyphicks, or at the best into French flurts of the pastery, which a proper English woman should scorne with her heels : it is no marvell they weare drailes on the hinder part of their heads, having nothing as it seems in the fore-part, but a few Squirrils brains to help them frisk from ill-favor'd fashion to another.

*These whimm' Crown'd shees, these fashion-fansying wits,
Are empty thin brain'd shells, and fiddling Kits.*

The very troublers and impoverishers of mankind, I can hardly forbear to commend to the world a saying of a Lady living sometime with the Queen of *Bohemia*, I know not where shee found it, but it is pittie it should be lost.

*The World is full of care, much like unto a bubble ;
Women and care, and care and women, and women and care
(and trouble.*

The Verses are even enough for such odde pegma's. I can make my selfe sicke at any time, with comparing the dazling splendor wherewith our Gentlewomen were embellished in some former habits, with the gut-foundred goosdom, wherewith they are now surcingled and debauched. Wee have about five or six of them in our Colony : if I see any of them accidentally, I cannot cleanse my phansie of them for a moneth after. I have been a solitary widdower almost twelve yeares, purposed lately to make a step over to my Native Country for a yoke-fellow : but

when I consider how women there have tripe-wifed themselves with their cladments, I have no heart to the voyage, least their nauseous shapes and the Sea, should work too sorely upon my stomach. I speak sadly ; me thinkes it should breake the hearts of English-men to see so many goodly English-women imprisoned in French Cages, peering out of their hood-holes for some men of mercy to help them with a little wit, and no body relieves them.

It is a more common then convenient saying, that nine Taylors make a man : it were well if nineteene could make a woman to her minde : if Taylors were men indeed, well furnished but with meer morall principles, they would disdain to be led about like Apes, by such mymick Marmosets. It is a most unworthy thing, for men that have bones in them, to spend their lives in making fidle-cases for futilous womens phansies ; which are the very pettitoes of infirmity, the gyblets of perquisquilian toys. I am so charitable to think, that most of that mystery would worke the cheerfuller while they live, if they might bee well discharged of the tyring slavery of mis-tyring women : it is no little labour to be continually putting up English-women into Out-landish caskes : who if they be not shifted anew, once in a few moneths, grow too sowre for their Husbands. What this Trade will answer for themselves when God shall take measure of Taylors consciences is beyond my skill to imagine. There was a time when

*The joyning of the Red-Rose with the White,
Did set our State into a Damask plight.*

But now our Roses are turned to *Flore de lices*, our Carnations to Tulips, our Gilliflowers to Dayzes, our City-Dames, to an indenominable Quæmalry of overturcas'd things. Hee that makes Coates for the Moone, had need take measure every noone; and he that makes for women, as often, to keepe them from Lunacy.

I have often heard divers Ladies vent loud feminine complaints of the wearisome varieties and chargeable changes of fashions: I marvell themselves preferre not a Bill of redresse. I would * *Essex* Ladies would lead the *Chore*, for the honour of their County and persons; or rather the thrice honourable Ladies of the Court, whom it best beseemes: who may wel presume of a *Le Roy le veult* from our sober King, a *Les Seigneurs ont Assentus* from our prudent Peers, and the like *Assentus* from our considerate, I dare not say wife-worne Commons: who I beleieve had much rather passe one such Bill, than pay so many Taylors Bills as they are forced to doe.

Most deare and unparallel'd Ladies, be pleased to attempt it: as you have the precellency of the women of the world for beauty and feature; so assume the honour to give, and not take Law from any, in matter of attire: if ye can transact so faire a motion among yourselves unanimously, I dare say, they that most renite, will least repent. What greater honour can

* All the Counties and shires of England have had wars in them since the Conquest, but Essex, which is onely free, and should be thankfull.

your Honors desire, then to build a Promontory president to all foraigne Ladies, to deserve so eminently at the hands of all the English Gentry present and to come : and to confute the opinion of all the wise men in the world ; who never thought it possible for women to doe so good a work ?

If any man think I have spoken rather merrily than seriously he is much mistaken, I have written what I write with all the indignation I can, and no more then I ought. I confesse I veer'd my tongue to this kinde of Language *de industria* though unwillingly, supposing those I speak to are incapable of grave and rationall arguments.

I desire all Ladies and Gentlewomen to understand that all this while I intend not such as through necessary modesty to avoyd morose singularity, follow fashions slowly, a flight shot or two off, shewing by their moderation, that they rather draw counterpoint with their hearts, then put on by their examples.

I point my pen only against the light-heel'd beagles that lead the chase so fast, that they run all civility out of breath, against these Ape-headed pullets, which invent Antique foole-fangles, meerly for fashion and novelty sake.

In a word, if I begin once to declaime against fashions, let men and women look well about them, there is somewhat in the businesse ; I confesse to the world, I never had grace enough to be strict in that kinde ; and of late years, I have found syrrope of pride very wholesome in a due *Dos*, which makes mee keep such store of that drugge by me, that if any body comes

to me for a question-full or two about fashions, they never complain of me for giving them hard measure, or under-weight.

But I addresse my self to those who can both hear and mend all if they please : I seriously feare, if the pious Parliament doe not finde a time to state fashions, as ancient Parliaments have done in some part, God will hardly finde a time to state Religion or Peace : They are the surquedryes of pride, the wantonnesse of idlenesse, provoking sins, the certain prodromies of assured judgement, *Zeph.* 1. 7, 8.

It is beyond all account, how many Gentlemens and Citizens estates are deplumed by their feather-headed wives, what usefull supplies the pannage of *England* would afford other Countries, what rich returns to it selfe, if it were not slic'd out into male and female fripperies : and what a multitude of misimploy'd hands, might be better improv'd in some more manly Manufactures for the publique weale : it is not easily credible, what may be said of the preterpluralities of Taylors in *London* : I have heard an honest man say, that not long since there were numbered between *Temple-barre* and *Charing-Crosse*, eight thousand of that Trade : let it be conjectured by that proportion how many there are in and about *London*, and in all *England*, they will appeare to be very numerous. If the Parliament would please to mend women, which their Husbands dare not doe, there need not so many men to make and mend as there are. I hope the present dolefull estate of the Realme, will perswade more strongly to some considerate course herein, than I now can.

Knew I how to bring it in, I would speak a word to long haire, whereof I will say no more but this: if God proves not such a Barbor to it as he threatens, unlesse it be amended, *Esa.* 7. 20. before the Peace of the State and Church be well settled, then let my prophesie be scorned, as a sound minde scornes the ryot of that sin, and more it needs not. If those who are tearmed Rattle-heads and Impuritans, would take up a Resolution to begin in moderation of haire, to the just reproach of those that are called Puritans and Round-heads, I would honour their manlinesse, as much as the others godlinesse, so long as I knew what man or honour meant: if neither can find a Barbours shop, let them turne in, to *Psal.* 68. 21. *Jer.* 7. 29. *1 Cor.* 11. 14. if it be thought no wisdome in men to distinguish themselves in the field by the Scissers, let it bee thought no injustice in God, not to distinguish them by the Sword. I had rather God should know me by my sobriety, than mine enemy not know me by my vanity. He is ill kept, that is kept by his owne sin. A short promise is a farre safer guard than a long lock: it is an ill distinction which God is loth to looke at, and his Angels cannot know his Saints by. Though it be not the mark of the Beast, yet it may be the mark of a beast prepared to slaughter. I am sure men use not to weare such manes; I am also sure Souldiers use to weare other marklets or notadoes in time of battell.

HAving done with the upper part of my work, I would now with all humble willingnesse set on

the best peece of Soule-leather I have, did I not feare I should break my All, which though it may be a right old English blade, yet it is but little and weake. I should esteeme it the best piece of workmanship my Cobling hand every wrought, if it would please Him whose worke it is, to direct me to speake such a word over the sea, as the good old woman of *Abel* did over the wall, in the like exigent: but alas, I am but simple. What if I be?

*When States dishelv'd are, and Lawes untwist,
Wise men keep their tongues, fools speak what they list.*

I would not be so unwise as to grieve the wise, if I were wise enough to foresee it: I would speake nothing to the Cause or Continuance of these wearisome Warres hitherto; the one is enough debated, the other more than enough peracted. Nor would I declaime of the uncomlinesse, unbrotherlinesse, unseasonableness and unreasonableness of these direfull digladiations: every stroak stricke sounds too loud upon this harsh string. I would much rather speake perswasives to a comely brotherly seasonable and reasonable cessation of Armes on both sides, by a drawn battaile: Wherein if I shall adventure a few over-bold words, I intreat my ignorance, impartiality, and Loyalty may plead pardon for me.

Foure meanes there are, and no more, within the compasse of my consideration, conducing to what is desired. Either to get the Standard fixed in heaven by the Lord of Hosts taken downe, I meane by Re-

formation: Or to set up white colours instead of red, on one side or other, I meane by Composition: Or by furling up all the Ensignes on both sides, I meane by mutuall and generall Cessation: Or by still displaying all the Colours and Cornets of every batalion, I mean by prosecution: without Reformation there will hardly be any Composition; without Composition little hope of Cessation; without Cessation there must and will be Prosecution; which God forbid.

Reformation.

WHen the Roman Standard was defixed with such difficulty at the battell between *Hanniball* and *Flaminius* at *Thrasimene*, it proved an ill Omen. *When God gives quietnesse, who can make trouble; when he hideth his face, who can behold him? Whether it be against a nation or a man onely. That the Hypocrite reigne not, lest the people be insnared, Job 34. 29, 30.* How can the sword of the Lord put it selfe up into its scabbard and be quiet, when himself hath given it a charge to the contrary? *Jer. 47. 6, 7.* It was a Cardinall Truth which Cardinall *Poole* spake to H. 8. *Penes Reges est inferre bellum, penes autem Deum terminare.* If Kings will make their beginnings, God will make his ends: much more when himselfe begins: *When I begin I will also make an end, 1 Sam. 3. 12.* Farre better were it, for men to make an end with him in time, than put him to make such an end with them as he there intends.

Politically Reformation he seemes to call for now *indigitanter*. When he beholds Christian Kingdomes

and States unsound in their foundations, illineall in their superstructures, unjust in their administrations ; he kicks them in peeces with the foot of his Indignation : But when Religious Statesmen frame and build by the levell and plummet of his wisdome, then people may say as his servants of old, *Looke upon Zion the City of our Solemnities ; Your eyes shall see it a quiet habitation, a Tabernacle that shall not be taken down ; not one of the stakes thereof shall be removed, neither shall any of the coards thereof bee broken ; Isa. 33. 20.* neither by civill Commotions nor foraign Invasions. When the coards of a State are exquisitely tight, and the stakes firmly pitched ; such a Tent though but a Tent shall not easily flutter or fall : But *if the Tacklings be so loose, that the maine Mast cannot stand steady, nor the Saile be well spread ; then may the lame take and divide a great prey, ver. 23.* If Religion, Laws, Liberties, Affections, Conversations, and foraign Federacies be slight ; the strength of strong men shall be weaknesse, and the weaknesse of the weak victorious.

Pura politeja ne unum admittit solæcismulum, neque valet, præscriptio in politicis aut moralibus. It may maintain a bright conjecture, against a rusty Truth : a legible possession, against an obliterate Claime : an inconvenience, against a convenience ; where no cleare remedy may be had : but never any thing that is formally sinfull, or materially mischievous. When rotten States are soundly mended from head to foot, proportions duly admeasured, Justice justly dispenced ; then shall Rulers and Subjects have peace with God

and themselves : but till then, the gayest Kingdomes shall be but ruffling scuffling, removing and commoving hovells. For *England*, however the upper Stories are shroadly shattered ; yet the foundations and frame being good or mendable by the Architects now at worke, there is good hope, when peace is settled, people shall dwell more wind-tight and water-tight than formerly. I earnestly wish our Mr. Builders to remember, that punctuality in Divinity and Politie, is but regularity ; that what is amisse in the mould, will misfashion the prosult : and that if this market be slipt, things may grow as deare as ever they were. Most expert Gentlemen, bee intreated at length to set our Head right on our shoulders, that we may once look upwards and goe forwards like proper Englishmen.

God will also have Ecclesiasticall Reformation now, or nothing : And here he stands not upon Kings, Parliaments or Assemblies, but upon his own Termes. I feare hee will have all drosse and base metallis throughly melted away by these combustions, before Hee quenches them ; all his Ordinances and vessells cast into his owne fashion, in his own mould, to his own *amussim*, before he restores peace. There was not a stone left upon a stone of the old Temple, before the new was erected. If this first worke bee throughly and throughoutly dispatched as I hope it is, the great *Remora* is removed. If the Parliament and Assembly be pleased to be as curious and industrious as I have seen a great Popish Bishop in execrating

a Protestant Parish Church one day, and consecrating it the next; they may adjourn awhile with leave enough.

Some ten or twelve years before these Wars there came to my view these two Predictions.

1. *When God shall purge this Land with soap and nitre,
Woe be to the Crowne, woe be to the Mitre.*

The accent of the blow shall fall there.

He that pities not the Crowne, pities not his owne soule. Hee that pities not those that wore the Mitre, more than they pitied themselves, or the Churches over which they insulted, or the State then corrupted and now Corruined by their pride and negligence, is to blame.

- 2 *There is a set of Bishops comming next behind,
Will ride the devill off his legs, and break his wind.*

Poore men ! they might have kept his backe till this time for ought I know, had they not put him beyond his pace : but Schollers must gallop, though they tumble for it. Yet I commend them for this, they gave him such straynes as made him blow short ever since. I doubt the Assembly troubles him ; and I doubt he troubles them. Well, the Bishops are gone : If they have carried away with them all that was in the pockets of their Holliday hose, fare them well ; let them come againe when I give them a new *Conge d' slier*, or send a Pursuivant for them ; which if I doe, I shall never trust myselfe more, though they

have often done it for me, who never deserved that honour. Some of them I confesse were very honest men, and would have been honester if they dared for their fellows.

The sad worke now, is to institute better things in their Roome, and to induct better men in their roome ; rather where, and how to finde those things, they having cunningly laid them so farre out of the way ; I doubt some good men cannot see them, when they look full upon them : it is like, the Bishops carryed away their eyes with them, but I feare they left their Spectacles behind them. I use no spectacles, yet my eyes are not fine enough, nor my hand steady enough to cut by such fine threads as are now spun. I am I know not what ; I cannot tell what to make of my selfe, nor I think no body else : My Trade is to finde more faults than others will mend ; and I am very diligent at it ; yet it scarce findes me a living, though the Country findes me more worke than I can turne my hand to.

For Church work, I am neither Presbyterian, nor plebsbyterian, but an Interpendent : My task is to sit and study how shapeable the Independent way will be to the body of *England*, then my head akes on one side ; and how suitable the Presbyterian way, as we heare it propounded, will bee to the minde of Christ, then my head akes on the other side : but when I consider how the Parliament will commoderate a way out of both, then my head leaves aking : I am not, without some contrivalls in my patching braines ; but I had rather suppose them to powder, than expose

them to preregular, much lesse to preter-regular Judgements: I shall therefore rejoyce that the work is faine into so good hands, heads, and hearts, who will weigh Rules by Troyweight, and not by the old Haber-du-fois: and rather then meddle where I have so little skill, I will sit by and tell my feares to them that have the patience to heare them, and leave the red-hot question to them that dare handle it.

I fear many holy men have not so deeply humbled themselves for their former mis-worshippings of God as he will have them before he reveales his secrets to them: as they accounted things indifferent, so they account indifferent repentance will serve turne. *Son of man, if my people be ashamed of all that they have done, then shew them the forme of the house, and the fashion thereof*, else not, *Ezek.* 43. 11. A sin in Gods worship, that seemes small in the common beame of the world, may be very great in the scales of his Sanctuary. Where God is very jealous, his servants should be very cautelous.

I feare, the furnace wherein our new formes are casting, is over-heat, and casts smoake in the eyes of our founders, that they cannot well see what they doe, or ought to doe; *Omne perit judicium cum res transit in affectum*. Truth and peace are the *Castor* and *Pol-lux* of the Gospell: they that seek the one without the other, are like to finde neither: Anger will hinder domestick Prayers, much more Ecclesiastique Councils. What is produced by tumult, is either deficient or redundant. When the judgements of good men concur with a harmonious Diapason, the result is me-

lodious and commodious. Warring and jarring men are no builders of houses for God, though otherwise very good. Instruments may be well made and well strung, but if they be not well fretted, the Musique is marred. The great Turke hearing Musicians so long a tuning, he thought it stood not with his state to wait for what would follow. VVhen Christ whips Market-makers out of his Temple, he raises dust: but when he enters in with Truth and Holinesse, he calls for deep silence, *Hab. 2. 20.* There must not a toole be heard when the Tabernacle is reared: Nor is that amiable or serviceable to men that passeth through so many ill animadversions of Auditors and Spectators. If the Assembly can hardly agree what to determine, people will not easily agree what to accept.

I fear, these differences and delays have occasioned men to make more new discoveries then otherwise they would. If publique Assemblies of Divines cannot agree upon a right way, private Conventicles of illiterate men, will soon find a wrong. Bivious demurres breed devious resolutions. Passengers to heaven are in haste, and will walk one way or other. He that doubts of his way, thinkes hee loses his day: and when men are gone awhile, they will be loth to turn back. If God hide his path, Satān is at hand to turn Convoy: If any have a minde to ride poste, he will helpe them with a fresh spavin'd Opinion at every Stage.

*Where clocks will stand, and Dials have no light,
There men must goe by guesse, be't wrong or right.*

I feare, if the Assembly of all Divines, doe not consent, and concenter the sooner, God will breath a spirit of wisdom and meeknesse, into the Parliament of no Divines, to whom the Imperative and Coactive power supremely belongs, to consult such a temperate way, as shall best please him, and profit his Churches, so that it shall be written upon the doore of the Assembly ; *The Lord was not there*.

I feare, the importunity of some impatient, and subtlety of some malevolent mindes, will put both Parliament and Assembly upon some preproperations, that will not be safe in Ecclesiasticall Constitutions. To procrastinate in matters clear, as I said even now, may be dangerous ; so, not to deliberate in dubious cases, will be as perilous. We here, though I think under favour, wee have some as able Steersmen as *England* affords, have been driven to tack about again to some other points of Christs Compasse, and to make better observations before we hoys up sayles. It will be found great wisdom in disputable cases, not to walk on by twilight, but very cautelously ; rather by probationers for a time, then peremptory positives : Reelings and wheelings in Church acts, are both difficult and disadvantageous. It is rather Christian modesty than shame, in the dawning of Reformation, to be very perceptive. Christs mind is, that Evangelicall policies, should be framed by Angelicall measures ; not by a line of flaxe, but by a golden Reed, *Rev. 21. 15*.

I feare, he that sayes, the Presbyterian and Independent way, if rightly carryed, doe not meet in one,

he doth not handle his Compasses so considerably as he should.

I feare, if Authority doth not establish a sutable and peaceable Government of Churches the sooner, the bells in all the steeples will ring awke so long, that they will hardly be brought into tune any more.

My last, but not least feare, is, That God will hardly replant his Gospel in any part of Christendome, in so faire an Edition as is expected, till the whole field hath been so ploughed and harrowed, that the soile be throughly cleansed and fitted for new seed: Or whether he will not transplant it into some other Regions, I know not: This feare I have feared these 20 years, but upon what grounds I had rather bury than broach.

I dare not but adde to what preceded about Church-Reformation, a most humble petition, that the Authority of the Ministry be kept in its due altitude: if it be dropp'd in the dust, it will soon bee stifled: Encroachments on both sides, have bred detriments enough to the whole. The Separatists are content their teaching Elders should sit highest on the Bench, so they may sit in the Chaire over-against them; and that their ruling Elders shall ride on the saddle, so they may hold the bridle. That they may likewise have seasonable and honorable maintenance, and that certainly stated: which generally we find and practise here as the best way. When Elders live upon peoples good wills, people care little for their ill wills, be they never so just: Voluntary contributions or non-tributions of Members, put Ministers upon

many temptations in administrations of their Offices: two houres care does more dis-spirit an ingenuous man than two dayes study: nor can an Elder be given to hospitality, when he knowes not what will be given him to defray it: it is pity men of gifts should live upon men's gifts. I have seen most of the Reformed Churches in Europ, and seene more misery in these two respects, then it is meet others should hear: the complaints of painfull *Pareus*, *David Pareus*, to my selfe, with tears, concerning the Germane Churches, are not to be related.

There is yet a personall Reformation, as requisite as the Politicall. When States are so reformed, that they conforme such as are profligate, into good civility: civill men, into religious morality: When Churches are so constituted, that Faith is ordained Pastor, Truth Teacher, Holinesse and Righteousnesse ruling Elders: Wisedome and Charity Deacons: Knowledge, love, hope, zeale, heavenly-mindednesse, meeknesse, patience, watchfulnesse, humility, diligence, sobriety, modesty, chastity, constancy, prudence, contentation, innocency, sincerity, &c. admitted members and all their opposites excluded: then there will bee peace of Country and Conscience.

Did the servants of Christ know what it is to live in Reformed Churches with unreformed spirits, under strict order with loose hearts, how formes of Religion breed but formes of Godlinesse, how men by Church-discipline, learne their Church-postures, and there rest; they would pray as hard for purity of heart, as purity of Ordinances. If we mocke God in these,

He will mocke us ; either with defeat of our hopes ; or which is worse : when we have what we so much desire, we shall be so much the worse for it. It was a well salted speech, uttered by an English Christian of a Reformed Church in the Netherlands, Wee have the good Orders here, but you have the good Christians in *England*. Hee that prizes not Old *England* Graces, as much as New *England* Ordinances, had need goe to some other market before hee comes hither. In a word, hee that is not Pastor, Teacher, Ruler, Deacon and Brother to himselfe, and looks not at Christ above all, it matters not a farthing whether he be Presbyterian or Independent : he may be a zealot in bearing witnesse to which he likes best, and yet an Iscariot to both, in the witnesse of his owne Conscience.

I have upon strict observation, seen so much power of godlinesse, and spirituall mindednesse in English Christians, living meerly upon Sermons and private duties, hardly come by, when the Gospell was little more than symptomaticall to the State ; such Epidemicall and lethall formality in other disciplined Churches, that I professe in the hearing of God, my heart hath mourned, and mine eyes wept in secret, to consider what will become of multitudes of my deare Country-men, when they shall enjoy what they now covet : Not that good Ordinances breed ill Consciences, but ill Consciences grow stark nought under good Ordinances ; insomuch that might I wish an hypocrite the most perilous place but Hell, I should wish him a Membership in a strict Reformed Church :

and might I wish a sincere Servant of God, the greatest grieve earth can afford, I should wish him to live with a pure heart, in a Church impurely Reformed ; yet through the improvement of Gods Spirit, that grieve may sanctifie him for Gods service and presence, as much as the meanes he would have, but cannot.

I speak this the rather to prevent, what in me lyes, the imprudent romaging that is like to be in *England*, from Villages to Townes, from Townes to Cities, for Churches sake, to the undoing of Societies, Friendships, Kindreds, Families, Heritages, Callings, yea, the wise Providence of God in disposing mens habitations, now in the very Infancy of Reformation : by forgetting that a little leaven may season a large lump : and it is much better to doe good than receive. It were a most uncharitable and unserviceable part, for good men to desert their own Congregations, where many may glorifie God in the day of his Visitation, for their presence and assistance. If a Christian would picke out a way to thrive in grace, let him study to administer grace to them that want : or to make sure a blessing upon his Family ; let him labour to multiply the family of Christ, and beleieve, that he which soweth liberally, shall reap abundantly ; and hee that spareth more than is need, from them that have more need, shall surely come to poverty : yea, let me say, that he who forsakes the meanes of grace for Christ and his Churches sake, shall meet with a better bargain, namely, grace it selfe. It is a time now, when full flocks should rather scatter to leane Churches,

than gather from other places, to make themselves fat ; when able Christians should rather turne Jesuites and Seminaries, than run into Covents and Frieries : had this beene the course in the Primitive time, the Gospel had been pinfolded up in a few Cities, and not spread as it is.

What more ungodly sacriledge or manstealing can there be, then to purloin from godly Ministers the first born of their fervent prayers and faithfull preachings, the leven of their flocks, the encouragement of their soules, the Crowne of their labours, their Epistle to Heaven ? I am glad to heare our *New-England* Elders generally detest it *despuenter*, and looke at it as a killing *Cordolium* : If men will needs gather Churches out of the world (as they say) let them first plough the world, sow it, and reap it with their own hands, and the Lord give them a liberall Harvest. He is a very hard man that will reap where he hath not sowed, and gather where he hath not strowed, *Mat. 25. 24.*

He that saith, it is or was our case, doth not rightly understand himself or us, and he that takes his warrant out of *Joh. 4. 37. 38.* is little acquainted with Expositors. Wise men are amazed to hear that conscientious Ministers dare spoile many Congregations to make one for themselves.

In matter of Reformation, this would be remembered, that in premonitory judgements, God will take good words, and sincere intents ; but in peremptory, nothing but reall performances.

Composition.

IF Reformation were come thus neer, I should hope Composition were not farre off: When hearts meet in God, they will soon meet in Gods wayes, and upon Gods termes. But to avoid prolixity, which steales upon me ; For Composition, I shall compose halfe a dozen distichs concerning these kind of Wars ; wishing I could sing asleep these odious stirres at least on some part, with a dull Ode. He is no Cobler that cannot sing, nor no good Cobler that can sing well :

Si natura negat, facit indignatio versum } They are
Qualemcunque potest ——— Juvenal } these.

1.

They seldome lose the field, but often win,
 That end their wars, before their wars begin.

2.

*Their Cause is oft the worst, that first begin,
 And they may lose the field, the field that win : **

3.

*In Civill warrs, 'twixt Subjects and their King,
 There is no conquest got, by conquering.*

4.

*Warre ill begun, the onely way to mend,
 Is t' end the warre before the warre doe end*

5.

*They that will end ill warrs, must have the skill,
 To make an end by Rule, and not by Will.*

6.

*In ending warrs 'tween Subjects and their Kings,
 Great things are sav'd, by losing little things.*

* *Victrix causa Diis placuit, sed victa Catoni.* Lucan.

Wee heare that *Majestas Imperii* hath challenged *Salus Populi* into the field ; the one fighting for Pre-rogatives, the other defending Liberties : Were I a Constable bigge enough, I would set one of them by the heeles to keep both their hands quiet ; I meane onely in a paire of stocks, made of sound reason, handsomely fitted for the legges of their Understanding.

If *Salus Populi* began, surely it was not that *Salus Populi* which I left in *England* : That *Salus Populi* was as mannerly a *Salus Populi* as need bee : if I bee not much deceived, that *Salus Populi* suffer'd its nose to be held to the Grindstone, till it was almost ground to the grisles ; and yet grew never the sharper for ought I could discerne ; What was, before the world was made, I leave to better Antiquaries then myselfe ; but I thinke, since the world began, it was never storied that *Salus Populi* began with *Majestas Imperii*, unlesse *Majestas Imperii* first unharbour'd it, and hunted it to a stand, and then it must either turne head and live, or turn taile and die : but more have been storyed on the other hand than *Majestas Imperii* is willing to heare : I doubt not but *Majestas Imperii* knows, that Common-wealths cost as much the making as Crownes ; and if they bee well made, would yet outsell an ill-fashioned Crown, in any Market overt, even in *Smithfield*, if they could be well vouched.

But *Preces* & *Lachrymæ*, are the people's weapons : so are Swords and Pistols, when God and Parliaments bid them Arme. Prayers and Teares are

good weapons for them that have nothing but knees and eyes; but most men are made with teeth and nailes; onely they must neither scratch for Liberties, nor bite Prerogatives, till they have wept and prayed as God would have them. If Subjects must fight for their Kings against other Kingdomes, when their Kings will; I know no reason, but they may fight against their Kings for their own Kingdomes, when Parliaments say they may and must: but Parliaments must not say they must, till God sayes they may.

I can never beleieve that *Majestas Imperii*, was ever so simple as to think, that if it extends it self beyond its due Artique at one end, but *Salus Populi* must Antartique it as farre at the other end, or else the world will be Excentrick, and then it will whirle; and if it once fall a whirling, ten to one, it will whirle them off first, that sit in highest chaires on cushions fill'd with Peacocks feathers; and they are like to stand their ground fastest, that owne not one foot of ground to stand upon. When Kings rise higher than they should, they exhale Subjects higher than they would: if the *Primum Mobile* should ascend one foot higher than it is, it would hurry all the nether wheelles, and the whole world on fire in 24 houres. No Prince exceeds in Sovereignty, but his Subjects will exceed as farre in some vitious Liberty, to abate their grieft; or some pernicious mutiny, to abate their Prince.

*The crazy world will crack, in all the middle joynts,
If all the ends it hath, have not their parapoynts.*

Nor can I beleeeve that Crownes trouble Kings Heads, so much as Kings heads trouble Crownes : nor that they are flowers of Crowns that trouble Crowns, but rather some Nettles or Thistles mistaken for flowers.

To speake plainer English, I have wondred these thirty yeares what Kings aile : I have seen in my time, the best part of twenty Christian Kings and Princes ; Yet as Christian as they were, some or other were still scuffling for Prerogatives. It must be granted at all hands, that *Prærogativæ Regis* are necessary Supporters of State : and stately things to stately Kings : but if withall, they be *Derogativæ Regno*, they are but little things to wise Kings. Equity is as due to People, as Eminency to Princes : Liberty to Subjects, as Royalty to Kings : If they cannot walk together lovingly hand in hand, *pari passu*, they must cut girdles and part as good friends as they may : Nor must it be taken offensively, that when Kings are haling up their top-gallants, Subjects lay hold on their slablines ; the head and body must move alike : it is nothing meet for me to say with *Horace*,

Ut tu fortunam, sic nos te Car'le feremus.

But I hope I may safely say,

*The body beares the head, the head the Crown ;
If both beare not alike, then one will down.*

Distracting Nature, calls for distracting Remedies ; perturbing policies for disturbing cures : If one Ex-

treame should not constitute its Anti-Extreame, all things would soon be in *extremo*: if ambitious windes get into Rulers Crownes, rebellious vapours will into Subjects Caps, bee they stopt never so close: Yet the tongues of Times tell us of ten Preter-royall Usurpations, to one contra-civill Rebellion.

Civill Liberties and Proprieties admeasured, to every man to his true *suum*, are the *prima pura principia*, *propria quarto modo*, the *sine quibus* of humane States, without which, men are but women. Peoples prostrations of these things when they may lawfully helpe it, are prophane prostitutions; ignorant Ideotismes, under naturall noddaries; and just it is that such as undersell them, should not re-inherit them in haste, though they seeke it carefully with teares. And such usurpations by Rulers, are the unnaturalizings of nature, disfranchisements of Freedome, the Neronian nullifyings of Kingdomes: yea, I beleeve the Devill himselfe would turne Round-head, rather then suffer these Columnes of Common-wealths to be slighted: as he is a creature, he feares decreation; as an Angell, dehominations; as a Prince, dis-common-wealthings; as finite, these pen-infinite insolencies, which are the most finite Infinites of misery to men on this side the worlds dissolution: therefore it is, that with Gods leave, he hath sounded an alarm to all the *susque deque*, pell-mels, one and alls, now harrassing sundry parts of Christendome. It is enough for God to be Infinite, too much for man to bee Indefinite. He that will flye too high a quarry for Absolutenesse, shall stoope as much too low before he remounts his proper

pitch : If *Jacob* will over top his brother out of Gods time and way, he will so hamstring him, that hee shall make legs whether he will or no, at his brothers approach : and such as over-ruin all humane measure, shall seldome returne to humane mercy : There are sins besides the sin against the Holy Ghost, which shall not be expiated by sacrifice for temporall revenge : I mean when they are boyled up to a full consistence of contumacy and impenitency. Let absolute Demands or Commands be put into one scale, and indefinite refusalls into the other : all the Goldsmiths in *Cheape-side*, cannot tell which weighs heaviest. Intolerable griefes to Subjects, breed the *Iliaca passio* in a body politick, which inforces that upwards which should not. I speak these things to excuse, what I may, my Countrymen in the hearts of all that look upon their proceedings.

There is a quadrobulary saying which passes current in the Westerne World, That the Emperour is King of Kings, the *Spaniard*, King of Men, the *French*, King of Asses, the *King of England*, King of Devills. By his leave that first brayed the speech, they are pretty wise Devills and pretty honest ; the worse they doe, is to keep their Kings from devillizing, and themselves from Assing : Were I a King (a simple supposall) I would not part with one good English Devill, for some two of the Emperours Kings, nor three of the *Spaniards* Men, nor foure *French* Asses ; If I did I should thinke my selfe an Asse for my labour. I know nothing that *Englishmen* want, but true Grace, and honest pride ; let them be well furnisht

with those two, I feare they would make more Asses, then *Spaine* can make men, or the Emperour Kings. You will say I am now beyond my latchet ; but you would not say so, if you knew how high my latchet will stretch ; when I heare a lye with a latchet, that reaches up to his throat that first forged it.

He is a good King that undoes not his Subjects by any one of his unlimited Prerogatives : and they are a good People, that undoe not their Prince, by any one of their unbounded Liberties, be they the very least. I am sure either may, and I am sure neither would be trusted, how good soever. Stories tell us in effect, though not in termes, that over-risen Kings, have been the next evils to the world, unto fallen Angels ; and that over-franchised people, are devills with smooth snaffles in their mouthes. A King that lives by Law, lives by love ; and he that lives above Law, shall live under hatred doe what he can. Slavery and knavery goe as seldome asunder, as Tyranny and Cruelty.

I have a long while thought it very possible, in a time of Peace, and in some Kings Reigne, for disert Statesmen, to cut an exquisite thred between Kings Prerogatives, and Subjects Liberties of all sorts, so as *Cæsar* might have his due, and People their share, without such sharpe disputes. Good Casuists would case it, and case it, part it, and part it ; now it, and then it, punctually. *Aquinas*, *Suarez*, or *Valentia*, would have done it long ere this, had they not beene Popish, I might have said knavish ; for, if they be so any where, it is in their Tractates of Priviledges.

Our Common Law doth well, but it must doe better before things doe as they should. There are some *Maximes* in Law, that would be taught to speake a little more mannerly, or else well *Anti-Maxim'd*: we say, the King can doe a Subject no wrong; why may wee not say, the Parliament can doe the King no wrong? We say, *Nullum tempus occurrit Regi* in taking wrong; why may wee not say, *Nullum tempus succurrit Regi* in doing wrong? which I doubt will prove as good a Canon if well examined.

Authority must have power to make and keep people honest; People, honesty to obey Authority; both, a joynt-Councell to keep both safe. Morall Lawes, Royall Frerogatives, Popular Liberties, are not of Mans making or giving, but Gods: Man is but to measure them out by Gods Rule: which if mans wisdom cannot reach, Mans experience must mend: And these Essentialls, must not be Ephorized or Tribuned by one or a few Mens discretion, but lineally sanctioned by Supream Councels. In *pro-re-nascent* occurrences, which cannot be foreseen; Diets, Parliaments, Senates, or accountable Commissions, must have power to consult and execute against intersilient dangers and flagitious crimes prohibited by the light of Nature: Yet it were good if States would let People know so much beforehand, by some safe woven *manifesto*, that grosse Delinquents may tell no tales of Anchors and Buoyes, nor palliate their presumptions with pretence of ignorance. I know no difference in these Essentialls, between Monarchies, Aristocracies, or Democracies; the rule will be found par-rationall,

say Schoolmen and Pretorians what they will. And in all, the best Standard to measure Prerogatives, is the Ploughstaffe ; to measure Liberties, the Scepter : if the tearms were a little altered into Loyall Prerogatives and Royall Liberties, then we should be sure to have Royall Kings and Loyall Subjects.

*Subjects their King, the King his Subjects greets,
Whilome the Scepter and the Plough-staffe meets.*

But Progenitors have had them for four and twenty predecessions : that would be spoken in the Norman tongue or Cimbrian, not in the English or Scottish : When a Conquerour turnes Christian, Christianity turnes Conquerour : if they had had them time out of minde of man, before *Adam* was made, it is not a pin to the point in *foro rectæ rationis* : Justice and Equity were before time, and will be after it : Time hath neither Politicks nor Ethicks, good nor evill in it ; it is an empty thing, as empty as a *New-English* purse, and emptier it cannot bee : a man may break his neck in time, and in a lesse time then he can heale it.

But here is the deadly pang, it must now be taken by force and dint of sword : I confesse it is a deadly pang to a Spirit made all of flesh, but not to a mortified heart : it is good to let God have his will as hee please, when we have not reason to let him have it as we should ; remembring, that hitherto he hath taken order, that ill Prerogatives gotten by the Sword, should in time be fetcht home by the Dagger, if nothing else will doe it : Yet I trust there is both day and

means to intervent this bargaine. But if they should ; if God will make both King and Kingdome the better by it, what should either lose ? I am sure there is no great cause for either to make great brags.

Pax quo carior, eo charior.

*A peace well made, is likeliest then to hold,
When 'tis both dearly bought and dearly sold.*

I confesse, he that parts with such pearles to be paid in old iron, had need to be pityed more by his faithfull friends, than he is like to be by his false flatterers. My heart is surcharged, I can no longer forbear.

M*Y Dearest Lord*, and my more than *dearest King*, I most humbly beseech you upon mine aged knees, that you would please to arme your minde with patience of prooffe, and to intrench your selfe as deep as you can, in your wonted Royall meeknesse ; for I am resolved to display my unfurled soule in your very face, and to storme you with volyes of Love and Loyalty. You owe the meanest true Subject you have, a close account of these open Warres : they are no *Arcana imperii*. Then give mee leave to inquire of your Majesty, what you make in fields of blood, when you should be amidst your Parliament of peace : What you doe sculking in the suburbs of Hell, when your Royall Pallaces stand desolate, through your absence ? What moves you to take up Armes against your faithfull Subjects, when your Armes should bee

embracing your mournfull Queen? What incenses your heart to make so many widdowes and Orphans, and among the rest your owne? Doth it become you, the King of the stateliest Island the world hath, to forsake your Throne, and take up the Manufacture of cutting your Subjects throats, for no other sin, but for Deifying you so over-much, that you cannot be quiet in your Spirit, till they have pluckt you downe as over-low? Doe your three Kingdomes so trouble you, that they must all three be set on fire at once, that when you have done, you may probably runne away by their light into utter darknesse? Doe your three Crownes sit so heavy on your head, that you will break the backs of the three bodies that set them on, and helpt you beare them so honourably? Have your three Lamb-like flocks so molested you, that you must deliver them up to the ravening teeth of evening Wolves? Are you so angry with those that never gave you just cause to be angry, but by their too much feare to anger you at all, when you gave them cause enough? Are you so weary of Peace, that you will never be weary of Warre? Are you so willing to warre at home, who were so unwilling to warre abroad, where and when you should? Are you so weary of being a good King, that you will leave your selfe never a good Subject? Have you peace of Conscience, in inforcing many of your Subjects to fight for you against their Conscience? Are you provided with Answers at the great Tribunall, for the destruction of so many thousands, whereof every man was as good a man as your Self, *qua* man?

Is it not a most unworthy part for you to bee running away from your Subjects in a day of battel, upon whose Pikes you may come safe with your naked breast and welcome? Is it honourable for you to be flying on horses, from those that would esteeme it their greatest honour, to beare you on their humble shoulders to your Chaire of Estate, and set you down upon a Cushion stuffed with their hearts? Is it your prudence to be intruded with your best friends, for adventuring their lives to rescue you from your worst enemies? Were I a King, pardon the supposall, I would hang that Subject by the head, that would not take me by the heels, and dragge me to my Court, when he sees me shifting for life in the ruined Countrey, if nothing else would doe it; And I would honour their very heels, that would take me by the very head, and teach me, by all just meanes, to King it better, when they saw me un-Kinging my selfe and Kingdome: Doe you not know Sir, that, as when your people are sicke of the Kings-evill, God hath given you a gift to heale them? so when your selfe are sicke of it, God hath given the Parliament a gift to heale you: Hath your Subjects love been so great to you, that you will spend it all, and leave your children little or none? Are you so exasperated against wise *Scotland*, that you will make *England* your foole or foot-stoole? Is your fathers Sonne growne more Orthodox, then his most Orthodox father, when he told his Sonne, that a King was for a kingdome, and not a kingdome for a King? parallell to that of the Apostle; the husband is but by the wife, but the wife of the husband.

Is *Majestas Imperii* growne so kickish, that it cannot stand quiet with *Salus Populi*, unlesse it be fettered? Are you well advised, in trampling your Subjects so under your feet, that they can finde no place to be safe in, but over your head: Are you so inexorably offended with your Parliament, for suffering you to returne as you did, when you came into their house as you did, that you will be avenged on all whom they represent? Will you follow your very worst Councell so far, as to provoke your very best, to take better counsell than ever they did? If your Majesty be not Popish, as you professe, and I am very willing to beleieve, why doe you put the Parliament to resume the Sacrament of the Altar, or Consubstantions in saying, the King and Parliament, the King and Parliament? breaking your simple Subjects braines to understand such mysticall Parleement? I question much, whether they were not better speake plainer English, then such Latine as the Angels can hardly construe, and God happily loves not to perse; I can as well admit an ubiquitary King as another, if a King be abroad in any good affaire; but if a King be at home and will circumscribe himselfe at *Oxford*, and proscribe or discribe his Parliament at *Westminster*, if that *Parliament* will prescribe what they ought, without such paradoxing, I should think God would subscribe a *Le Dieu le veult* readily enough.

Is your *Advisera* such a *Suavamen* to you, that hath beene such a *Gravamen* to Religion and Peace? Shall the chiefe bearing wombe of your Kingdome,

be ever so constituted, that it cannot be delivered of its owne deliverance, in what pangs soever it be, without the will of one man-midwife, and such a man as will come and not come, but as he list : nor bring a Parliament to bed of a well-begotten Liberty without an entire Subsidy ? Doe not your Majesty being a Schollar, know, that it was a truth long before it was spoken, that *Mundus est unus aut nullus*, that there is *Principum purum unum*, which unites the world and all that is in it ; where that is broken, things fall asunder, that whatsoever is duable or triable, is fryable.

Is the *Militia* of your Kingdome, such an orient flower of your Crowne, which all good Herbalists judge but a meere nettle, while it is in any one mans hand living ? May not you as well challenge the absolute disposall of all the wealth of the Kingdome as of all the strength of your Kingdome ? Can you put any difference ? unlesse it bee this, that mens hearts and bones are within their skins, more proper and intrinsecall, their lands and cattell more externall : dare you not *concredit* the *Militia*, with those to whom you may betrust your heart, better then your owne breast ? Will they ever harme you with the *Militia*, that have no manner of *malitia* against you, but for mis-imploing the *Militia* against them by the *malitia* of your ill Counsellours ? What good will the *Militia* doe you when you have wasted the Realme of all the best *Milites* it hath ? May not your Majesty see through a paire of Spectacles, glazed with inch-board ; that while you have your *Advisera* in one hand, and the *Militia* in the other, you have

the neckes of your Subjects under your feet, but not your heart in your owne hand? doe you not know that *malum est, posse malum*?

Hath Episcopacy beene such a religious Jewell in your State, that you will sell all or most of your Coronets, Caps of honour, and blue Garters, for six and twenty cloth Caps? and your Barons Cloakes, for so many Rockets, whereof usually twenty have had scarce good manners enough to keepe the other six sweet? Is no Bishop no King, such an oraculous Truth, that you will pawne your Crowne and life upon it? if you will, God may make it true indeed on your part: Had you rather part with all, then lose a few superfluous tumours, to pare off your monstrousnesse? Will you be so covetous, as to get more then you ought, by losing more then you need? Have you not driven good Subjects enough abroad, but you will also slaughter them that stay at home? Will you take such an ill course, that no prayers can fasten that good upon you we desier? Is there not some worse root than all these growing in your Spirit, bringing forth all this bitter fruit? against which you should take up Arms, rather then against your harmlesse Subjects? Doe you not foresee, into what importable head-tearings and heart-searchings you will be ingulfed, when the Parliament shall give you a mate, though but a Stale? Methinkes it should breake your heart, to see such a one as I, presume so much upon your clemency and too much upon your Majesty, which your Selfe have so eclipsed by the interposall of your Selfe between your Selfe and your Selfe, that it hath not

ray's enough left to dazle downe the height of my affections to the awe of my Judgement.

Tres-Royall Sir, I once againe beseech you, with teares dropping from my hoary head, to cover your Selfe as close as you may, with the best shield of goodnesse you have : I have somewhat more to say, which may happily trouble not your Selfe, but your followers, more than what is already said. There lived in your Realme and Reigne two whom I may well tearme Prophets, both now in a better Kingdome ; whereof one foretold two things concerning your Majesty, of these very proceedings, long before they began ; which being done and past shall bee buried in silence : the other made this prediction about the same time.

*King Charles will joyne Himselfe to bitter Griefe,
Then joyne to God, and prove a Godly Chiefe.*

His words were in prose these, King *Charles* will come into fetters, meaning strong afflictions, and then prove as good a King, as such a good King of *Israel*, whom he then named, but I need not : he was as inwardly acquainted with the minde of God, as fervent and frequent a Beadsman for your welfare, and had as religious Opticks of State, as any man I know : foure other Predictions he made, full as improbable as this, whereof three are punctually performed. A good Christian being sometime in conflicts of Conscience, hurried with long tentations, used this speech to my selfe, I am now resolved to be quiet, for I plainly see, God will save me whether I will or no : If your Ma-

jesty would be pleased to thinke so in your heart, and say so with your mouth, all the good Subjects you have, would say, *Amen*, till the heavens rang, and I hope you have few so bad, but would say, *So be it*.

Much lamented Sir, If you will please to retire your Selfe to your Closet, whither you may most safely come, and make your peace with God, for the vast heritage of sinne your Intombed father left upon your score, the dreadful Imprecation he poured upon the heads of his tender posterity in *Summersets* and *Overburyes* Case, published in Starchamber by his Royall command ; your owne sinful marriage, the sophistocation of Religion and Policie in your time, the luxury ^{of} your Court and Country, your connivance with the Irish butcheries, your forgetfull breaches upon the Parliament, your compliance with Popish Doegs, with what else your Conscience shall suggest : and give us, your guilty Subjects example to doe the like, who have held pace and proportion with you in our evill wayes : we will helpe you by Gods assistance, to poure out rivers of tears, to wash away the streams of blood, which have beene shed for these heavy accounts ; we will also helpe you, God helping us, to beleeve, that there is hope in *Israel* for these things ; and Balme enough in his *Gilead* to heale all the broken bones of your three kingdomes, and to redouble your honour and our peace : His Arme is infinite ; to an infinite power all things are equally faisable, to an infinite mercy, all sinnes equally pardonable. The Lord worke these things in us and for us, for his compassions sake in Jesus Christ.

Sir, you may now please to discover your Selfe

where you think meet ; I trust I have not indangered you : I presume your Ear-guard will keep farre enough from you, what ever I have said : be it so, I have discharged my duty, let them look to theirs. If my tongue should reach your eares, which I little hope for ; Let it be once said ; the great King of great *Britaine*, tooke advise of a simple Cbler, yet such a Cbler, as will not exchange either his blood or his pride, with any Shoo-maker or Tanner in your Realme, nor with any of your late Bishops which have flattered you thus in peeces : I would not speake thus in the eares of the world, through the mouth of the Presse for all the plunder your plunderers have pillaged ; were it not somewhat to abate your Royall indignation toward a loyall Subject ; a Subject whose heart hath been long carbonadoed, *des veniam verbo*, in flames of affection towards you. Your Majesty knowes or may know, time was, when I did, or would have done you a better peece of service, than all your Troopes and Regiments are now doing. Should I heare any Gentleman that follows you, of my yeares, say hee loves you better than I, if it were lawfull, I would sweare by my Sword, he said more than his sword would make good.

Gracious Sir, Vouchsafe to pardon me my no other sins, but my long Idolatry towards you, and my loving you too hard in this speech, and I will pardon you your Treason against me, even me, by committing Treason against your Selfe my Lord and King ; * and

* I speake in termes of Divinity not of Law and am deeply grieved that I am forced to such necessary over boldnesse.

your murther, in murthering me, even me, by murthering my deare fellow Subjects, bone of my bone, and flesh of my flesh, and of yours also. If you will not pardon me, I will pardon my selfe, dwell in my own clothes as long as I can, and happily make as good a shift for my proportion, as he that hath a lighter paire of heeles : And when you have done what you please and what you can, I am resolved to be

*As loyall a Subject to your Majesty when I
have never a head on my shoulders, as
you a Royall King to me, when you have
your three Crownes on your head,*

Theod : de la Guard.

Sir,

I Cannot give you over thus ; I most earnestly implore you, that you would not deferre to consider yourselfe throughly, you are now returned to the brinke of your Honour and our Peace, stand not too long there, your State is full of distractions, your people of expectations, the importune Affaires of your Kingdome perplexedly suspended, your good Subjects are now rising into a resolution to pray you on to your throne, or into your Tombe, into Grace with your Parliament and People, or into Glory with the Saints in Heaven ; but how you will get into the one, without passing first through th' other, is the riddle they cannot untie. If they shall ply the Throne of Grace hard, God will certainly heare, and in a short time

mould you to his minde, and convince you, that it had and will bee farre easier to sit downe meekely upon the *Rectum*, than to wander resolutely in obliquities; which with Kings, seldome faile to dissem-bogue into bottomlesse Seas of sorrows.

Dearest Sir, be intreated to doe what you doe sincerely; the King of Heaven and Earth can search and discover the hiddenest corner of your heart, your Parliament understands you farre better then you may conceive, they have many eares and eyes, and good ones, I beleeeve they are Religiously determined to re-cement you to your Body so exquisitely, that the Errors of State and Church, routed by these late stirs, may not re-allee hereafter, nor Themselves be made a curse to the issue of their own bodies, nor a Scoffe, to all Politique Bodies in Europe. The Lord give your Majesty and all your Royall Branches *the spirit of wisdom and understanding, the Spirit of knowledge and his feare*, for His mercy and Christ his sake.

I Would my skill would serve me also, as well as my heart, to translate Prince *Rupert*, for his Queen-mothers sake, *Eliz.* a second. Mismeane me not. I have had him in my armes when he was younger, I wish I had him there now: if I mistake not, he promised then to be a good Prince, but I doubt he hath forgot it: if I thought he would not be angry with me, I would pray hard to his Maker, to make him a right Roundhead, a wise hearted Palatine, a thankfull man to the English; to forgive all his sinnes, and at length to save his soule, notwithstanding all

his God-damne mee's : yet I may doe him wrong ; I am not certaine hee useth that oath ; I wish no man else would. I dare say the Devills dare not. I thank God I have lived in a Colony of many thousand English almost these twelve yeares, am held a very socia-ble man ; yet I may considerately say, I never heard but one Oath sworne, nor never saw one man drunk, nor ever heard of three women Adulteresses, in all this time, that I can call to minde : If these sinnes bee amongst us privily, the Lord heale us. I would not bee understood to boast of our innocency ; there is no cause I should, our hearts may be bad enough, and our lives much better. But to follow my busi-nesse.

Prosecutions of Warres betweene a King and his Parliament, are the direfull dilacerations of the world, the cruell Catastrophes of States, dreadfull to speake of ; they are *nefanda & n' agenda* : I know no grounds can be given of them but two : Either upon Reason founded upon some surmisall of Treason, which my reason cannot reach : I could never conceive why a rationall King should commit Treason against a reasonable Parliament ; or how a faithfull Parliament against their lawfull King : the most I can imagine, is a misprision of Treason, upon a misprision of Reason. Hee that knows not the Spirit of his King, is an Atheist. Our King is not *Charles le simple* sometime of *France* : he understands not our King that understands him not to bee understanding. The Parliament is supposed Omniscient, because under God they are Omnipotent : if a Parliament have

not as much knowledge and all other vertues, as all the Kingdome beside, they are no good Abridgement of the Common-wealth. I beleeve Remonstrances have demonstrated enough concerning this point of Reason, to give satisfaction to such as satisfaction will satisfie.

Or upon Will.

The Will of a King is very numinous; it hath a kinde of vast universality in it, it is many times greater than the will of his whole kingdome, stiffened with ill Counsell and ill Presidents: if it be not a foot and half lesser than the Will of his Councell, and three foot lesser than the Will of his Parliament, it is too big. I think it were well for a King if hee had no will at all, but were all Reason. What if he committed his morall will to Divines, that were no Bishops? his Politicall, to his Parliament, and a Councell chosen by Parliament? that if ever it miscarry, they may blame themselves most, and him least. I scarce know any King that hath such advantage as ours; his three kingdomes lye so distinct and entire, that if he please, he might keep them like three gardens without a weed, if he would let God keep his will, without wilfulnesse and rashnesse.

I have observed men to have two kindes of Wills, a Free-hold will, such as men hold in *Capite* of themselves; or a Copy-hold will, held at the will of other Lords or Ladies. I have read almost all the Common Law of *England*, and some Statutes; yet I never read, that the Parliament held their will in such

a *Capite*: their Tenure is *Knight-service*, and good *Knight-service* too, or else they are to blame. And I am sure, a King cannot hold by Copy, at the will of other Lords; the Law calls that *base tenure*, inconsistent with Royalty; much more base is it, to hold at the will of Ladies: Apron-string *tenure* is very weak, tyed but of a slipping knot, which a childe may undoe, much more a King. It stands not with our Queens honour to weare an Apron, much lesse her Husband, in the strings; that were to insnare both him and her self in many unsafeties. I never heard our King was Effeminate: to be a little Uxorious personally, is a vertuous vice in Oeconomicks; but Royally, a vitious vertue in Politicks. To speak English, Books and tongues tell us, I wish they tell us true, that the Error of these Wars on our Kings part proceeds only from ill Counsellours.

Ill Counsellours are very ill Gamesters; if they see their own stake a losing, they will play away King, Queen, Bishops, Knights, Rooks, Pawnes, and all, before they will turne up the board: they that play for lusts, will play away themselves, and not leave themselves so much as a heart to repent; and then there is no Market left but Hell; if the case be thus, it is to no end to look for any end, till one side make an end of the other.

*They that at stake their Crownes and Honours set,
Play lasting games, if Lust or Guilt doe bet.*

Cessation.

IF God would vouchsafe to give his Majesties Religion and Reason, power to fling his Wills head over the Wall, in matter of Composition, and his Subjects strength to throw their lusts after it, Arms would be soon laid down, and Peace soon taken up. They that are not at peace with God, are not at peace with themselves, whatever they think; and they that are not at peace with themselves, cannot be at peace with others, if occasion provokes, be their natures never so good.

So farre as I can conjecture, the chiefe impediment to a generall and mutuall Cessation of Armes, is, a despaire of mutuall and generall forgivenessse. If ever *England* had need of a generall Jubile in Heaven and Earth, it is now. Our King and Parliament have been at great strife, who should obtaine most Justice: if they would now strive, who should shew most Mercy, it would heare well throughout the world. Here also my speech must be twofold and blind-fold. It is now nine Moneths and more since the last credible News was acted: it is possible by this, the Parliament may be at the Kings mercy: Did I say a Kings mercy? what can I say more? no man on earth, can shew more mercy then a King, nor shall need more, when he comes to give an Account of his Kingdome: Nor did ever any Parliament merit more mercy than this, for they never sinned, that I know, I meane against the Common and Statute Law of *England*: it is pity they who have given so many general pardons, should want one now. If our King

hath lost his way, and thereby learned to looke to his path better hereafter, and taught many Successors to King it right for many Ages ; Me thinks it should impetrate a Royall Redintegration, upon a Royall acknowledgement and ingagement. But how should an erring King trust a provoked Parliament ? Surely he may trust God safe enough ; who will never trust that State more with a good King, that will doe ill to a King that is turned so good. Me thinks those passages of Scripture, *Esa.* 43. 24, 25. *chap.* 57. 17, 18. The strange illation, *Hos.* 2. 13, 14. should melt a heart of steele into floods of mercy.

For others, were my head, one of the heads which first gave the King Counsell to take up these Armes, or to persist in them, when at any time he would have disbanded, I would give that head to the Kingdome, whether they would or no ; if they would not cut it off, I would cut it off myselfe, and tender it at the Parliament doore, upon condition that all other heads might stand, which stand upon penitent hearts, and will doe better on than off ; then I would carry it to *London-Bridge*, and charge my tongue to teach all tongues, to pronounce Parliament right hereafter.

When a kingdom is broken just in the neck joynt, in my poore policy, ropes and hatchets are not the kindest instruments to set it : Next to the spilling of the blood of Christ for sin, the sparing of the blood of sinners, where it may be as well spared as spilt, is the best way of expiation. It is no rare thing for Subjects to follow a leading King ; if he will take his truncheon in his hand, it is to be expected many will

put their swords in their Belts. Sins that rise out of mistake of judgement, are not so sinfull as those of malice ordinarily : and when multitudes sin, multitudes of mercy are the best Anodines.

- - *gratia gratis data, gratissima.*

*Grace will dissolve, but rigour hardens guilt :
Break not with Steely blowes, what oyle should melt.*

*In Breaches integrant, 'tween Principalls of States,
Due Justice may supresse, but Love reintegrates.*

Whosoever be pardoned, I pray ~~not~~ ^{not} let ^{not} *Britanicus* scape, I mean a pardon. I take him to be a very serviceable Gentleman ; Out of my entire respect to him, I shall presume to give him half a dozen stitches of advice :

I intreat him to consider that our King is not onely a man, but a King in affliction ; Kings afflictions are beyond Subjects apprehensions ; a Crown may happily ake as much as a whole Common-wealth.

I desire him also to conceale himself as deeply as he can, if he cannot get a speciall pardon, to weare a Latitat about his neck, or let him lie close under the Philosophers stone, and I'll warrant him for ever being found.

If he be discovered, I counsell him to get his head set on faster than our *New-England* Taylors use to set on Buttons ; Kings, and Kings Childrens memories are as keen as their Subjects wits.

If he fears any such thing, that he would come over to us, to helpe recruite our bewildred brains : we will

promise to maintain him so long as he lives, if he will promise to live no longer then we maintain him.

If he should bee discovered and his head chance to be cut off against his will, I earnestly beseech him to bequeath his wits to me and mine in Fee-simple, for we want them, and cannot live by our hands in this Country.

Lastly, I intreat him to keep his purse, I give him my counsell *gratis*, confessing him to be more then my match, and that I am very loath to fall into his hands.

Prosecution.

IF Reformation, Composition, Cessation, can finde no admittance, there must and will be Prosecution: to which I would also speak briefly and indifferently still to both sides; and first to that, which I had rather call Royalists then Cavaliers; who if I mistake not, fight against the Truth.

Foolish Cowardly man (I pray patience, for I speak nothing but the pulse of my owne heart) dreads and hates, nothing in Heaven or Earth, so much as Truth: it is not God, nor Law, nor sinne, nor death, nor hell, that he feares, but onely because he feares there is Truth in them: Could he de-truth them all, he would defie them all: Let Perdition it self come upon him with deadly threats, fiery swords, displayed vengeance, he cares not: Let Salvation come cap in hand, with naked Reason, harmelesse Religion, lawny embracements, he will rather flye or dye, than entertaine it: come Truth in what shape it will, hee

will reject it: and when hee can beat it off with most steely prowess, he thinkes himselfe the bravest man; when in truth it is nothing but exsanguine feeble exility of Spirit. Thy heart, saith the Prophet *Ezek.* 16. 30. is weake, like the heart of an imperious whorish woman: a man would thinke, the heart of an imperious whore, were the very pummell of *Scanderbergs* sword; alas, she is hen-hearted, shee dares not looke Truth in the face; if she dared, shee would neither be whorish, nor imperious, nor weake. He shews more true fortitude, that prayes quarter of the least Truth, at a miles distance, than hee that breakes through and hewes downe the most Theban Phalanx that ever field bore. *Paul* exprest more true valour, in saying, I can doe nothing against the Truth, than *Goliah*, in defying the whole hoste of *Israel*.

Couragious Gentlemen, Yee that will stab him that gives you the lye; take heed yee spend not your bloods, limbes and soules, in fighting for some untruth: and yee that will fling out the gantlet to him that calls you Coward, dishonour not your selves with such Cowardise, as to fight against Truth, meerly for feare of it. A thousand pities it is, such gallant Spirits should spend their lives, honours, heritages, and sweet relations in any Warres, where, for ought many of them know, some false mistake commands in Chiefe.

Honoured Country-men, bee intreated to love Truth: if it loves not you againe, and repaires not all your losses, then install some Untruth in its roome for your Generall. If you will needs warre, be perswad-

ed to contend lawfully, wisely and stedfastly, against all errours in Divinity and Policy : they are the cursed Counter-mures, dropt Portcullises, scouring Angi-ports, sulphurious Granado's, laden murtherers, peevish Galthropes, and rascall desperadoes, which the Prince of lyes imployes with all his skill and malice, to maintaine the walls and gates of his kingdome, when Truth would enter in with grace and peace to save forlorne sinners, and distressed Commonwealthes : witnesse the present deplorable estate of sundry States in Europe.

Give me leave to speake a word more : it is but this ; Yee will finde it a farre easier field, to wage warre against all the Armies that ever were or will be on Earth, and all the Angels of Heaven, than to take up Armes against any truth of God : It hath more Counsell and strength than all the world besides ; and will certainly either gaine or ruine, convert or subvert every man that opposes it. I hope ingenuous men will rather take advice, then offence at what I have said : I had rather please ten, than grieve one intelligent man.

If this side be resolute, I turne me to the other.

Goe on brave Englishmen, in the name of God, go on prosperously, because of Truth and Righteousnes : Yee that have the Cause of Religion, the life of your Kingdome and of all the good that is in it in your hands : Goe on undauntedly : As you are Called and Chosen, so be faithfull : Yee fight the battells of the Lord, bee neither desidious nor perfidious : You serve

the King of Kings, who stiles you his heavenly Regiments: Consider well, what impregnable fighting it is in heaven, where the Lord of Hosts is your Generall, his Angells your Colonels, the Stars your fellow-souldiers, his Saints your Oratours, his Promises your victuallers, his Truth your Trenches; where Drums are Harps, Trumpets joyfull sounds; your Ensignes Christs Banners; where your weapons and armour are spirituall, therefore irresistable, therefore impierceable; where Sun and wind cannot disadvantage you, you are above them; where hell it selfe cannot hurt you, where your swords are furbushed and sharpened by him that made their metall, where your wounds are bound up with the oyle of a good Cause, where your blood runs into the veynes of Christ, where sudden death is present martyrdom and life; your funeralls resurrections, your honour glory; where your widows and babes are received into perpetuall pensions; your names listed among *Dauids* Worthies; where your greatest losses are greatest gaines; and where you leave the troubles of war, to lye down in downy beds of eternall rest.

What good will it doe you, deare Countrymen, to live without lives, to enjoy *England* without the God of *England*, your Kingdome without a Parliament, your Parliament without power, your Liberties without stability, your Lawes without Justice, your honours without vertue, your beings without well-being, your wives without honesty, your children without morality, your servants without civility, your lands without propriety, your goods without immunity, the Gospel without salvation, your churches with-

out Ministry, your Ministers without piety, and all you have or can have, with more teares and bitternesse of heart, than all you have and shall have will sweeten or wipe away ?

Goe on therefore Renowned Gentlemen, fall on resolvedly, till your hands cleave to your swords, your swords to your enemies hearts, your hearts to victory, your victories to triumph, your triumphs to the everlasting praise of him that hath given you Spirits to offer your selves willingly, and to jeopard your lives in high perils, for his Name and service sake.

And Wee your Brethren, though we necessarily abide beyond *Jordan*, and remaine on the American Sea-coasts, will send up Armies of prayers to the Throne of Grace, that the God of power and goodnesse, would incourage your hearts, cover your heads, strengthen your arms, pardon your sinnes, save your soules, and blesse your families, in the day of Battell. Wee will also pray, that the same Lord of Hosts, would discover the Counsels, defeat the Enterprizes, deride the hopes, disdaine the insolencies, and wound the hairy scalpes of your obstinate Enemies, and yet pardon all that are unwillingly misled. Wee will likewise helpe you beleeeve that God will be seen on the Mount, that it is all one with him, to save by many or few, and that he doth but humble and try you for the present, that he may doe you good at the latter end. All which hee bring to passe who is able to doe exceeding abundantly, above all we can aske or thinke, for his Truth and mercy sake in Jesus Christ.

Amen. Amen.

A Word of *IRELAND* :

*Not of the Nation universally, nor of any man in
it, that hath so much as one haire of Christianity
or Humanity growing on his head or beard,
but onely of the truculent Cut-throats,
and such as shall take up Armes
in their Defence.*

THese *Irish* anciently called *Antropophagi*,
man-eaters: Have a Tradition among them,
That when the Devill shewed our Saviour all the
kingdomes of the Earth and their glory, that he would
not shew him *Ireland*, but reserved it for himselfe :
it is probably true, for he hath kept it ever since for
his own peculiar ; the old Fox foresaw it would eclipse
the glory of all the rest : he thought it wisdome to
keep the land for a Boggards for his unclean spirits
imployed in this Hemisphere, and the people, to doe
his Son and Heire, I mean the Pope, that service for
which *Lewis* the eleventh kept his Barbor *Oliver*,
which makes them so blood-thirsty. They are the
very Offall of men, Dregges of Mankind, Reproach
of Christendome, the Bots that crawle on the Beasts'
taile, I wonder *Rome* it self is not ashamed of them.

I begge upon my hands and knees, that the Ex-
pedition against them may be undertaken while the

hearts and hands of our Souldiery are hot, to whom I will be bold to say briefly : Happy is he that shall reward them as they have served us, and Cursed be he that shall do that work of the Lord negligently, Cursed be he that holdeth back his Sword from blood ; yea, Cursed be he that maketh not his Sword starke drunk with *Irish* blood, that doth not recompense them double for their hellish treachery to the *English*, that maketh them not heaps upon heaps, and their Country a dwelling place for Dragons, an Astonishment to Nations : Let not that eye look for pity, nor that hand to be spared, that pities or spares them, and let him be accursed, that curseth not them bitterly.

A Word of Love to the Common People
of *England*.

IT is, your, now or never, to muster up puissant Armies of Prayers to the Mercy Seate ; your Body Representative, is now to take in hand, as intricate a piece of worke, as ever fell into the hands of any Parliament in the world, to tye an indissoluble knot upon that webb which hath been woven with so much cost and bloud, wherein if they happen to make one false maske, it may re-imbarque themselves and you all into a deadly relapse of scorne and calamity. It is the worke of God not of man, pray speedily therefore, and speedingly, give him no rest till your rest be thoroughly re-established, Your God is a God whose Name is All-sufficient, abundant in Goodnesse and Truth, on whom the Sonnes of *Iacob* never did, nor shall call in vaine, you have a Throne of Grace whereto you may goe boldly ; a Christ to give you a leading by the hand and liberty of speech, an Intercessor in Heaven to offer up your Prayers wrapp'd in his own ; a large Charter *aske and have*, a Spirit to helpe all your infirmities in that duty, a sure Covenant that you shall be heard, and such late incouragement as may strengthen your feeble hands for ever. If you who *may command God concerning the work of his hand*, shall faile to demand the workemanship of his

hand in this worke, your children will proclaime you un-thrifts with bitter teares to the worlds end.

If you see no cause to pray, read

Jer. 18. 1.---10.

Be also intreated to have a continuall and conscientious care not to impeach the Parliament in the hearts one of another by whispering complaints, easilier told then tryed or trued. Great bodyes move but slowly, especially when they move on three leggs and are over-loden with weighty occasions. They have now sate full six years without intermission to continue your being, many of their heads are growne gray with your cares, they are the High Councell of the Kingdome, the great Gilead of your Balme, the Phisitians of all your sicknesse; if any of them doe amisse, blame yourselves, you chose them, be wiser hereafter; you cannot doe the State, your selves, your posterity a more ungratefull office then to impaire them with disparagements and discouragements who are so studious to repaire your almost irreparable ruines.

Be likewise beseeched, not to slight good ministers, whom you were wont to reverence much, they are Gods Embassadors, your Ephods, your Starres, your Horse-men & Chariots, your Watchmen, & under Christ your Salvation, I know no deadlier Symptome of a dying People than to undervalue godly Ministers, whosoever despiseth them shall certainly be despised of God and men at one time or other.

A most humble heel=piece.

T O T H E

Most Honourable Head-piece

T H E

Parliament of *England*.

I Might excuse my selfe in Part, with a speech *Lycurgus* used in the like exigent of State, *senectute fio audacior, publica necessitate loquacior*, but it much better becomes mee with all lowlinesse and uprightnesse, wherein I have failed to pray pardon on both my knees, which I most humbly and willingly doe; only, before I rise, I crave leave to present this six-fold Petition.

That you would be pleased

To preserve the Sacred reputation of Parliaments,
or, wee shall have no Common-wealth.

To uphold the due estimation of good Ministers,
else, we shall have no Church.

To heale the sad dislocation of our Head, through-
ly, perfectly, or, wee shall have no King.

To oppugne the bold violation of divine Truths,
else wee shall have no God.

To proceed with what zeale you began, or what
you began can come to little end.

To expedite worke with what speede you safely
may, else ignorant people will feare they shall
have no end at all.

Hee that is great in Counsell, and Wonderfull in
Working, guide and helpe you in All things, that
doing All things in Him, by Him, and for Him,
you may doe All things like Him.

So be it.

A respective word to the Ministers
of ENGLAND.

FARRE bee it from mee, while I dehorte others to slight you my selfe, or to despise any man but my selfe, whom I can never despise enough: I rather humbly intreate you to forgive my boldnesse, who have most just cause to judge my selfe lesse and lesse faithfull than the least of you all, yet I dare not but bee so faithfull to you and my selfe, as to say

They are the Ministers of *England*, that have lost the Land; for Christs sake, put on His bowels, His wisdom, His zeale, and recover it.

I pray let me drive in half a dozen plaine honest
Country Hobnailes, such as the Martyrs were
wont to weare ; to make my work hold the
surer ; and I have done.

1. **T** *Here, lives cannot be good,
There, Faith cannot be sure,
Where Truth cannot be quiet,
Nor Ordinances pure.*

2. *No King can King it right,
Nor rightly sway his Rod ;
Who truly loves not Christ,
And truly fears not God.*

3. *He cannot rule a Land,
As Lands should ruled been,
That lets himself be rul'd
By a ruling Romane Queen.*

4. *No earthly man can be
True Subject to this State ;
Who makes the Pope his Christ,
An Heretique his Mate.*

5. *There Peace will goe to War,
And Silence make a noise :
Where upper things will not
With nether equipoyse.*

6. *The upper world shall Rule,
While Stars will run their race :
The nether world obey,
While People keep their place.*

The Clench.

I *F any of these come out
So long 's the world doe last :
Then credit not a word
Of what is said and past.*

ERRATA

AT NON

CORRIGENDA.

NOW I come to rubbe over my work, I finde five or six things like faults, which would be mended or commended, I know not well which, nor greatly care.

1. For *Levity*, read, *Lepidity*, ——— and that a very little, and that very necessary, if not unavoydable.

Misce stultitiam Consiliis brevem
 --*Dulce est desipere in loco.* Horat.

To speak to light heads with heavy words, were to break their necks: to cloathe Summer matter, with Winter Rugge, would make the Reader sweat. It is musick to me, to heare every Dity speak its spirit in its apt tune: every breast, to sing its proper part, and every creature, to expresse it self in its naturall note: should I heare a Mouse roare like a Beare, a Cat lowgh like an Oxe, or a Horse whistle like a Red-breast, it would scare — me.

*The world's a well strung fiddle, mans tongue the quill,
 That fills the world with fumble for want of skill,
 When things and words in tune and tone doe meet,
 The universall song goes smooth and sweet.*

2. For *audacity*, read, *veracity*, or *Verum Gallice non libenter audis*. Mart. Flattery never doth well, but when it is whispered through a paire of lipping teeth ; Truth best, when it is spoken out, through a paire of open lips. Ye make such a noyse there, with Drums and Trumpets, that if I should not speak loud, ye could not hear me : Ye talke one to another, with whole Culvering and Canon ; give us leave to talk Squibs and Pistoletto's charged with nothing but powder of Love and shot of Reason : if you will cut such deep gashes in one anothers flesh, we must sow them up with deep stitches, else ye may bleed to death : ye were better let us, your tender Countrymen doe it, than forraine Surgeons, who will handle you more cruelly, and take no other pay, but your Lives and Lands.

————— *Aspice vultus,*
Ecce meos, utinamque oculos in pectore posses
Inserere : & patrias intus deprendere Curas.
 (Ovid. Phæb.

He that to tall men speakes, must lift up 's head,
And when h' hath done, must set it where he did :
He that to proud men talkes, must put on pride ;
And when h' hath done, 'tis good to lay 't aside.

3. For, *Yes, but you speak at three thousand miles distance, which every Coward dare doe*, read, *if my heart deceives me not, I would speak thus, in the Presence Chamber or House of Commons ;* hoping *Homer* will speak a good word for me.

Θαροσαλέος γὰρ ἀνὴρ ἐν πάσιν ἀμείνων
'Εργοισι. —————

*Omnibus in rebus potior vir fortis & audax
Sit licet hospes, & è longinquis venerit oris.*

*When Kings are lost, and Subjects cast away,
A faithfull heart should speak what tongue can say :
It skils not where this faithfull heart doth dwell,
His faithfull dealing should be taken well.*

4. For, *affected termes*, read, *I hope not* ——— If I affect termes, it is my feeblenesse ; friends that know me, thinke I doe not : I confesse, I see I have here and there taken a few finish stitches, which may haply please a few Velvet eares ; but I cannot now well pull them out, unlesse I should seame-rend all. It seemes it is in fashion with you to sugar your papers with Carnation phrases, and spangle your speeches with new quodled words. Ermins in Minifer is every mans Coat : Yet we heare some are raking in old musty Charnel books, for old mouldy monosyllables ; I wish they were all banisht to *Monmouthshire*, to retorne when they had more wit.

*Multa renascentur quæ jam cecidere, cadentque
Quæ nunc sunt in honore vocabula, si volet usus.*

(Hor.

I honour them with my heart, that can expresse more than ordinary matter in ordinary words : it is a pleasing eloquence ; them more, that study wisely and soberly to inhance their native language ; them most of all, that esteeme the late significant speech,

the third great blessing of the Land ; it being so enriched, that a man may speak ~~in~~ many tongues in his Mothers mouth ; and an uplandish Rusticke, more in one word than himselfe and all the Parish understands. Affected termes are unaffected things to solid hearers ; yet I hold him prudent, that in these fastidious times, will helpe disedged appetites with convenient condiments, and bangled ears, with pretty quicke pluckes. I speake the rather because, not long since, I met with a book, the best to mee I ever saw, but the Bible ; yet under favour, it was somewhat underclad, especially by him who can both excogitate and expresse what hee undertakes, as well as any man I know.

*The world is growne so fine in words and wit,
 That pens must now Sir Edward Nich'las it.
 He that much matter speaks, speaks ne'r a whit,
 If's tongue doth not career 't above his wit.*

5. For, *You verse it simply, what need have we of your thin Poetry ; read, I confesse I wonder at it myself, that I should turne Poet :* I can impute it to nothing, but to the flatnousnesse of our diet : they are but sudden raptures soone up, soone downe.

--*Deductum dicere Carmen*, is highly commended by *Macrobius*.

Virgil himselfe said,
Agrestem tenui meditabor arundine musam.

*Poetry 's a gift wherein but few excell;
 He doth very ill, that doth not passing well.
 But he doth passing well, that doth his best,
 And he doth best, that passeth all the rest.*

6. For *tediousnesse*, read, *I am sorry for it* —
 Wee have a strong weaknesse in N. E. that when wee
 are speaking, we know not how to conclude: wee
 make many ends, before we make an end: the fault
 is in the Climate; we cannot helpe it though we
 can, which is the Arch infirmity in all morality:
 We are so near the West pole, that our Longitudes
 are as long, as any wise man would wish, and some-
 what longer. I scarce know any Adage more grate-
 full, than *Grata brevisitas*.

Verba confer maxime ad compendium. Plaut.

*Coblers will mend, but some will never mend,
 But end, and end, and end, and never end.
 A well-girt houre gives every man content,
 Sixe ribs of beefe, are worth sixe weeks of Lent.*

For, *all my other faults, which may bee more and
 greater than I see*, read, *I am heartily sorry for them,
 before I know them, lest I should forget it after*; and
 humbly crave pardon at adventure, having nothing
 that I can think of, to plead but this,

Quisquis inops peccat, minor est reus. Petron.

*Poore Coblers well may fault it now and then,
 They 'r ever mending faults for other men.
 And if I worke for nought, why is it said,
 This bungling Cobler would be soundly paid?*

SO farewell England old
If evill times ensue,
Let good men come to us,
Wee 'l welcome them to New.

And farewell Honor'd Friends,
If happy dayes ensue,
You'l have some Guests from hence,
Pray welcome us to you.

And farewell simple world,
If thou 'lt thy Cranium mend,
There is my Last and All,
And a Shoem-Akers

END.

Postscript.

THis honest Cbler has done what he might :
That Statesmen in their Shoes might walk upright.
But rotten Shoes of Spannish running-leather :
No Coblers skill, can stitch them strong together.
It were best to cast such rotten stuff away :
And look for that, that never will decay,

If all were shod with Gospel's lasting Peace ;
Hatred abroad, and Wars at home would cease.

Jerome Bellamie.

FINIS.

APPENDIX.

The following Letters, (from Hutchinson's History and Collections,) &c., and Deed from Essex Registry of Deeds, Salem, (Lib. I., Ipswich,) are supposed to possess sufficient interest to justify their insertion here.

Boston, 1843.

LETTER TO REV. JOHN COTTON.

Salutem in Xto nostro.

Reverend and dear friend,

I WAS yesterday convened before the bishop, I mean to his court, and am adjourned to the next term. I see such giants turn their backs, that I dare not trust my own weak heart. I expect measure hard enough and must furnish apace with proportionable armour. I lacke a friend to help buckle it on. I know none but Christ himself in all our coast fitt to help me, and my acquaintance with him is hardly enough to hope for that assistance my weak spirit will want, and the assaults of tentation call for. I pray therefore forget me not and believe for me also if there be such a piece of neighbourhood among Christians. And so blessing God with my whole heart for my knowledge of you and immerited interest in you, and thanking you entirely for that faithful love I have found from you in many expressions of the best nature, I commit you to the unchangeable love of God our Father in his son Jesus Christ, in whom I hope to rest for ever.

Stondon Mercy,
Dec. 13. 1631.

Your's in all truth of heart
NATH^l. WARDE.

[Extracts from Johnson's Wonder-Working Providence, printed in London, 1658.]

"Of the Ninth Church of Christ gathered at Ipswich.

THis year [1634] came over a farther supply of Eminent instruments for furthering this admirable Worke of his, amongst whom the Reverend and judicious servant of Christ Mr. *Nathaniel Ward*, who tooke up his station at the Towne of *Ipswich*," "scituated on a faire and delightfull River," "in the *Saggamooreship*, or Earldom of *Aggawam*." "The peopling of this Towne is by men of good ranke and quality, many of them having the yearly Revenue of large Lands in *England* before they came to this Wildernesse, but their Estates being imployed for Christ, and left in banke as you have formerly heard, they are well content till Christ shall be pleased to restore it againe to them or theirs.

"Their meeting-house is a very good prospect to a great part of the Towne, and beautifully built, the Church of Christ here consists of about one hundred and sixty soules, being exact in their conversation, and free from the Epidemicall Disease of all Reforming Churches, which under Christ is procured by their pious Learned and Orthodox Ministry, as in due place (God willing) shall be declared, in the meane time, look on the following Meeters concerning that Souldier of Christ Master *Nathaniel Ward*.

THou ancient Sage, come Ward among
 Christs folke,* take part in this great worke of his, [*folke.]
 Why do'st thou stand and gaze about so long;
 Do'st war in jest, why, Christ in earnest is,
 And hath thee arm'd with weapons for that end,
 To wound and heale his enemies submitting,
 Not carnally, then to this worke attend;
 Thou hast prevail'd the hearts of many hitting.
 Although the Presbytery unpleasant jar,
 And errors daily in their braines new coyme:
 Despayrer not, Christs truth they shall not mar;
 But with his helpe such drosse from Gold refine.
 What Man do'st meane to lay thy Trumpet downe?
 Because thy son like Warriour is become,
 Hold out or sure lesse bright will be thy crowne,
 Till death Christs servants labour is not done."

LETTER FROM GYLES FYRMIN TO GOV. WINTHROP.

Much honoured and deare Sir,

BUT that I thinke it needlesse (God havinge more than ordinarye fitted you for such trials) my letter might tell you with what griefe of spirit I received the news of that sad affliction which is lately happened to your worship, by means of that unfaithful wretch; I hope God will find a shoulder to helpe you beare so great a burthen. But the little time there is allotted me to write I must spend in requesting your worships counsel and favour. My father in law Ward, since his sonne came over, is varey desirous that wee might sett down together, and so that he might leave us together if God should remove him from hence. Because that it cannot be accomplished in this town, is verey desirous to get mee to remove with him to a new plantation. After much perswasion used, consideringe my want of accommodation here (the ground the town having given mee lying 5 miles from mee or more) and that the gaines of physick will not finde mee with bread, but, besides, apprehendinge that it might bee a way to free him from some temptations, and make him more cheereful and serviceable to the country or church, have yeelded to him. Herein, as I desire your counsel, so I humbly request your favour, that you would be pleased to give us the libertye of choosinge a plantation; wee thinke it will be at Pentuckett, or Quichichchek, by Shawshin: So soon as the season will give us leave to goe, wee shall informe your worship which we desire: And if that, by the court of election, we cannot gather a company to beegine it, wee will let it fall. Wee desire you would not graunt any of them to any before wee have seene them. If your worship have heard any relation of the places, wee should remaine thankful to you, if you would bee pleased to counsel us to any of them. Further, I would entreate for advise in this: The towne gave mee the ground (100 acres) upon this condition, that I should stay in the towne 3 yeeres,

or else I could not sell it : Now my father supposes it being my first heritage (my father having none in the land) that it is more than they canne doe to hinder mee thus, when as others have no business, but range from place to place, on purpose to live upon the countrey. I would entreate your counsel whither or noe I canne sell it. Further : I am strongly sett upon to studye divinitie, my studyes else must be lost : for physick is but a meene helpe. In these cases I humbly referre to your worship, as my father, for your counsel, and so in much haste, with my best services presented to your worship, wishinge you a strong support in your affliction, and a good and comfortable issue, I rest

Your worships in what he canne to his power,
Ipswich, 26. 10th 1639. GYLES FYRMIN.

Wee humbly entreate your secrecye in our desires.

November 25^o 1646./

This p'sent writing wittnesseth that I, Nathaniel Ward of Ipswich in New England have bargained & sould to John Eaton of Salisbury Coov^r all the land ground meadow & Co^monage wth their app^rtin^cs which I have or ought to have at this p'sent Day in Haverhill or Pentuckett in New England to ~~have and to hold~~ the said p'misses to the said John Eaton his heires & assignes paying for the same vnto the said Nathaniel Ward his executo^{rs} administr^s or assignes the full sūme of twelve pounds of wheate & pipe=staves six pounds worth of one & six pounds worth of the other to be deli^{ve}ed to m^r Richard Russell or Maior Sedgwick at Charles Towne before the end of September Next ensuying the Dat hereof; such as shalbe good & merchantable at the currant price at that tyme & place

In wittnesse whereof I have set to my hand & seale.

NATH WARD

Wittnes

THOMAS HOWLETT

EDMAN BRIDGES





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